

KENTUCKY'S

BLACK

HERITAGE

THE ROLE OF THE BLACK PEOPLE
IN THE HISTORY OF KENTUCKY
FROM PIONEER DAYS TO THE PRESENT.

A Supplement to Current Texts
on Kentucky History

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Kentucky Commission on Human Rights
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Introduction

Black men and women of Kentucky have a proud heritage. Although most of Kentucky's first Blacks came to the State as slaves, those slaves worked with their white masters to make the wilderness a home. The gracious hospitality which is a hallmark of Kentucky depended as much upon the labor of countless slaves as on any other single factor. The thoroughbred horses which symbolize Kentucky in the minds of many Americans were trained and groomed by Blacks and, in the early days of racing, steered to victory by black jockeys. Mammoth Cave was first explored and mapped by a black Kentuckian. Black laborers have worked alongside white laborers to develop Kentucky's major exports—tobacco and coal. Black artists, writers and professional men and women, by overcoming tremendous barriers, have achieved notable success in their fields. Black men and women, from the early pioneer heroes through the civil rights activists of today, have fought against discrimination and segregation and worked for equal opportunities for all.

The history of black Kentuckians has too long been ignored or misrepresented by general textbooks about Kentucky. The publication of KENTUCKY'S BLACK HERITAGE was undertaken by the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights and its Kentucky Black History Committee, in response to a 1970 Kentucky General Assembly resolution directing State agencies to disseminate information about Kentucky History, so that young people of both races could have the opportunity to learn about the history of Kentucky's black citizens.

Kentucky's BLACK HERITAGE, which is the first survey on this subject developed for junior high school students for use in the classroom, describes and examines the developing role of Kentucky's black citizens from the early eighteenth century, when Black settlers came to Kentucky with Daniel Boone, to the exciting events of the sixties in this century.

The book has two basic purposes:

1. To give young black students knowledge of the role played by black Kentuckians in the development of Kentucky so that they may possess a sense of pride in their heritage.
2. To give young white students an accurate understanding of the problems faced by Blacks and of the creative role black people have played in the State's History.

While, in recent years, there has been increased awareness of the value of incorporating black history studies into the school curriculum, it must be emphasized that a knowledge of black history is equally important in the white community as it is in the black community. Since the escalation of racial tensions is one of the major problems facing our country today, it is most urgent that history books contribute to understanding between races. The elimination of racial discrimination requires an informed awareness of the historical facts concerning the exploitation of black people and the methods used to deny them opportunities.

If history is taught so that students will understand the present through knowledge of past events, then this purpose can be realized only if textbooks and classroom presentation accurately describe the events and conditions of the past. To omit or misrepresent certain aspects of history (such as cultural pluralism and the role of the black people) will result in a distorted picture of both the past and the present.



THE EARLY EXPLORERS OF MAMMOTH CAVE INCLUDED MANY BLACK MEN. In 1845, one black slave, Stephen Bishop, published one of the earliest and most complete maps of the cave. In the pre-Civil War period, two black brothers, Matt and Nicholas Bransford, also helped in the exploration of Mammoth Cave. The sketch above, published in a 1871 newspaper, shows William Garvin, the black guide, with the lanterns used in early cave explorations.

In accordance with the guidelines established by the Kentucky Black History Committee, KENTUCKY'S BLACK HERITAGE was designed for use by the seventh and eighth grade students as a supplement to existing texts on Kentucky history. It is recommended that the materials contained in the book be incorporated into the regular history program to expand and enrich student awareness of aspects of Kentucky history which have previously been neglected.

Teachers and students are invited to join with the Kentucky Black History Committee in the exciting project of writing the history of black people in Kentucky. KENTUCKY'S BLACK HERITAGE will give a general view of the black role in Kentucky history. But there is a much fuller story to be written and you can help in that writing.

What do you know about black people in your community? Where do they live? How long have they lived there? Were their ancestors slave or free Blacks? Can you discover one new fact about the black people you know best? If so, send us a paper about what you have learned. Perhaps your discovery will be a part of the next book written about Kentucky Black History.

Please read this book with a questioning mind. Ask yourself if events really happened the way they are described in the book? Do the facts that are presented here agree with what you already know? Readers are encouraged to send suggestions and ideas for improving KENTUCKY'S BLACK HERITAGE to the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights. A form for this purpose has been placed at the back of the text.

It is the hope of the Committee that the publication of KENTUCKY'S BLACK HERITAGE will assist and encourage in the development of history programs which will, perhaps for the first time, tell the whole story of the tremendous odds overcome by black Kentuckians in their determined effort to contribute to the growth and development of their State.

Unit One

The Slavery Period--1770-1860

Blacks were among Kentucky's very first settlers. Some of the earliest recorded deeds of frontier heroism in Kentucky were performed by black men. Black and white men worked together to make the wilderness a home. Some black men made significant contributions to this task. A Black made the gunpowder used in the early fort at Boonesborough. Another black man there taught his neighbors how to cultivate watermelons.

Some of those early black settlers entered the state as free men and women; others came to the state as slaves. Not all slaves were field hands or house servants. Many were skilled craftsmen—blacksmiths, shoemakers, and carpenters. Others were engaged as accountants, seamen, cooks, and surveyors. Many slaves and free Blacks attended school or learned to read and write through private instruction from their masters or from other Blacks.

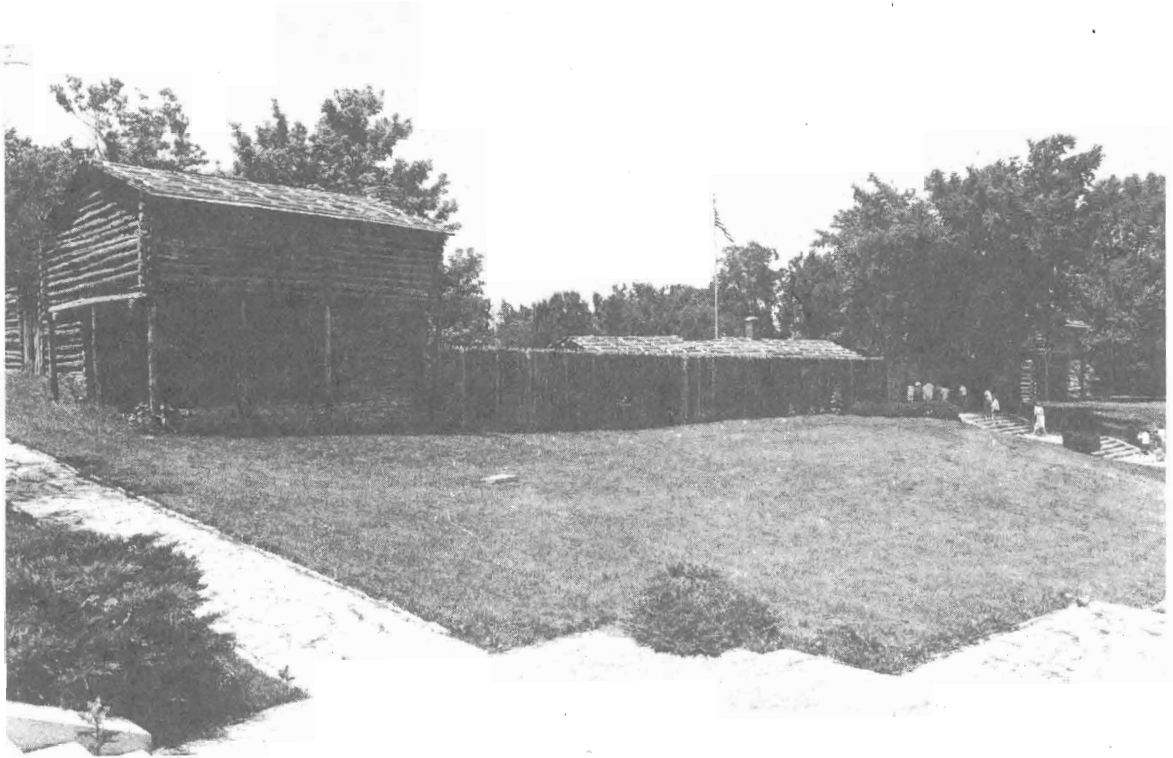
The institution of slavery was a cruel and inhuman system. Slaves had no legal rights. Under law, slaves were regarded as property who could be bought and sold by their masters and subjected to harsh punishments.

Slaves could not openly oppose slavery because they would be punished. So they showed how much they hated the system by running away. Many Kentucky slaves fled north to freedom. Many faced recapture by returning to Kentucky to guide their families and friends to freedom. Many others stayed in Kentucky but sheltered and protected those fugitives who were fleeing northward.

Many white citizens opposed slavery. They freed their own slaves and tried to convince others to do the same. They tried to get the General Assembly to abolish slavery throughout Kentucky. The attempts to rid the state of slavery through legal means always ended in failure.

Chapter One

Early Settlers



HARRODS FORT, the first permanent settlement in Kentucky, had Blacks among its early settlers. A reproduction of Harrods Fort (pictured above) can be seen at Pioneer Memorial Park.

The rustle of leaves and the crackling of dry timber indicated that someone was coming along the old Indian trail. At the crest of the hill, a low-hanging branch was pulled back and two faces, one white and one black, looked down over the endless rolling hills that were to become the land called Kentucky. The Appalachian barrier had been penetrated and the westward march of the settlers into Kentucky had begun.

We do not know that a black man accompanied the first white man to penetrate the Kentucky wilderness. We are not certain who the first trailblazer

was. There is a strong possibility, however, that Blacks came with, or even before, the first white men to enter Kentucky.

Many free black men lived in the eastern foothills of the Appalachians. Some of these men may have explored the mountain passes. A few Blacks lived with the Cherokee and Chickasaw Indians who roamed the Appalachian forests. Blacks traveled with some of the French and Spanish priests who were among the earliest white men to explore the Mississippi River Valley. Any of these Blacks may have entered Kentucky before 1775.

Black Settlers Came with Boone, 1775

A black man and a black woman were members of one of the first groups that Daniel Boone led into Kentucky. Another member of that group, Felix Walker, kept a diary of the trip. He described the courage of the black members of the party:

"A sad reserve overtook us two days after, on our way to Kentucky River. On the 25th March, 1775, we were fired on by the Indians, in our camp asleep, about an hour before day. Captain Twetty was shot in both knees, and died the third day after. A black man, his body servant, killed dead; myself badly wounded; our company dispersed One of our men, who had run off at the fire of the Indians on our camp, was discovered peeping from behind a tree by a black woman belonging to Colonel Callaway, while gathering small wood. She ran in, and gave the alarm of Indians. Colonel Boone instantly caught his rifle, ordered the few men to form, take trees, and give battle. And not to run till they saw him fall. They formed agreeably to his directions, and I believe they would have fought with equal bravery to any Spartan band ever brought to the field of action, when the man behind the tree announced his name, and came in."¹

This group proceeded to the Kentucky River and founded the station of Boonesborough. In May, 1775, an assembly was convened consisting of eighteen members and a speaker (or Governor) Colonel Richard Henderson. They passed several laws for the regulation of the community. Thus, black slaves were a part of one of the earliest communities organized in Kentucky.

Blacks in Kentucky's First History Book

In Kentucky's first history book, written by John Filson in 1784, black men appear in two different Indian raids. In May, 1782, an Indian party assaulted Ashton's Station, killed one man and took a black prisoner. Upon discovering the raid, Captain Ashton pursued and overtook the raiders, and in the ensuing battle killed eight and wounded four Indians.

The following October, Indians entered the cabin of Settler Woods in the Crab Orchard District where Mrs. Woods and her daughter, Hannah, were protected only by a lame black slave. While one Indian fought with the slave, Hannah seized the axe and decapitated the assailant. The slave and Mrs. Woods managed to bar the door just as neighbors, hearing the commotion, came to drive the Indians away.

Harrods Fort

In 1777, Captain John Cowan made a list of the number of settlers living in Harrod's Fort.² He recorded:

Men in Service	81
Men not in service	4
Women	24
Children above ten years old	12
Children under ten years old	58
Slaves over ten years old	12
Negro children under ten years	7

Total 198

Thus, black people made up about ten per cent of the population of this important early Kentucky settlement.



AN ARTIST'S CONCEPTION OF CATO WATTS Louisville's first black resident.

Louisville

Louisville began as a tiny fortress on Corn Island, just above the falls of the Ohio River. In December, 1778, the island settlers moved their fort to the mainland where Louisville now stands. To celebrate their first Christmas in that new home, the settlers entertained a boatload of French traders at a feast and dance. Music for the festivities was provided by the fiddler, Cato, a black slave of one of the settlers.

Revolutionary War

During the Revolutionary War, the British controlled four forts to the north and west of Kentucky. General George Rogers Clark and a band of less than 200 soldiers made their headquarters in Kentucky at the falls of the Ohio. In the spring of 1778, these troops started on the Northwest Campaign. By February, 1779, General Clark and his men had captured all four forts and imprisoned the British Commander, General Henry Hamilton.

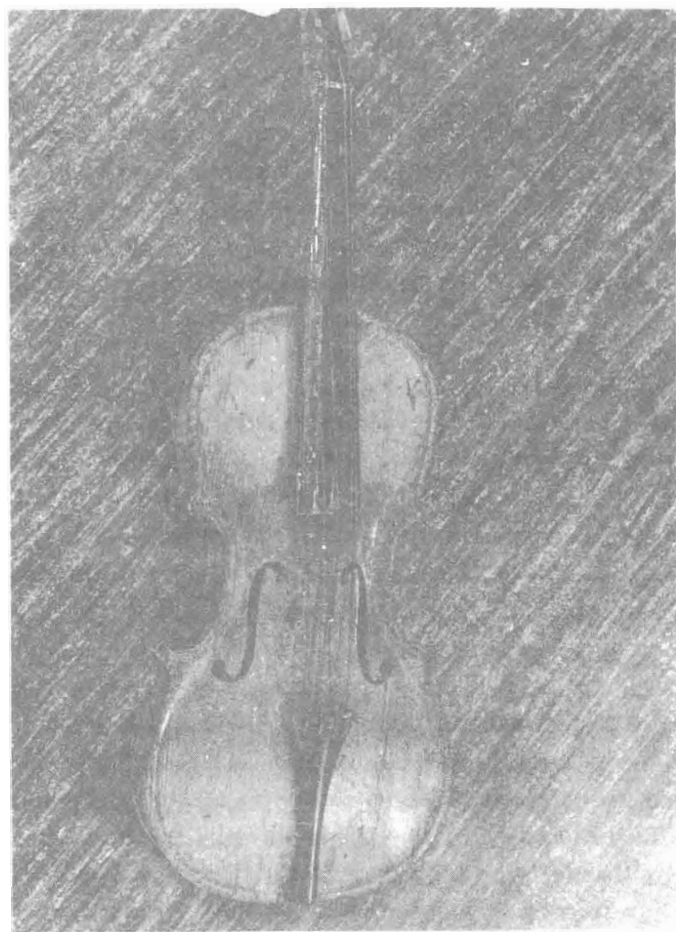
Reports written by men who took part in this campaign tell us that there were a few black soldiers with the American troops. Whether these Blacks were slaves is not clear and not particularly important. The hardships of blazing a trail through the wilderness had to be shared by all those present, black or white. The credit for their amazing victories must also be shared by the black and white members of General Clark's band.

In 1779, when General Hamilton was imprisoned at the Falls of the Ohio, he noted that the settlement was made up of eleven families, four bachelors, and one black slave.

Monk Estill

One of the most famous black frontiersmen was Monk Estill. On March 20, 1782, a group of Wyandot Indians raided Estill's Station and tomahawked the daughter of one settler. They captured Captain Estill's slave, Monk, an intelligent, powerfully-built young man.

With a hastily gathered force of settlers, Captain Estill overtook the Indians at Little Mountain (near



THE VIOLIN PLAYED BY CATO WATTS at Louisville's Christmas celebration is on display at the Filson Club.

present-day Mount Sterling). As the battle began, Captain Estill heard Monk call from inside the Indian camp, "Don't give way, Massa Jim, there's only about twenty-five of the red-skins, and you can whip 'em."³

Some of the settlers did give way, however, and those who remained suffered a terrible defeat. Thirteen of the settlers, including Captain Estill, were killed. In the confusion of battle, Monk escaped from the Indians and carried a wounded survivor most of the twenty-five miles back to Estill's Station.

Captain Estill's son granted Monk his freedom in recognition of his courageous actions. The black man remained at Estill's Station where he proved to be a most valuable citizen. Having learned how to manufacture gunpowder, Monk supplied both Boonesborough and Estill's Station with powder made from saltpeter he found in a cave in Madison County.

Richard Hind

Another free Black, Richard Hind, was a respected pioneer at Boonesborough. An inventive farmer, Hind experimented with new crops. He is credited with being the first person to cultivate watermelons in Kentucky. Hind's Bend on the Kentucky River was named for this black pioneer.

1790 Census

By 1790, when the first United States census was taken 12,430 slaves and 114 free Blacks lived in Kentucky. Seventeen per cent of the state's population was Black. Only about one-fourth of Kentucky's white families held slaves and most of these families held less than five slaves each. The typical Kentucky slaveholding family kept a cook and a farm laborer and perhaps one or two young slaves to groom the horses or help with housekeeping chores.

Farms raising wheat, oats, corn and livestock were worked by slave labor. After the land had been cleared, larger farms developed, needing more slaves to raise tobacco and hemp.

Only a very few farms in southwestern Kentucky ever raised cotton. In most of the state, the climate was just too cold for cotton culture. For this reason plantations with large numbers of slaves were very rare in Kentucky. Even as late as 1860, there were only five families in the state that held over 100 slaves.

The black population was very unevenly distributed across the state. The fertile bluegrass area in the center of the state and the rich flatlands of the Tennessee River in the southwestern part of the state had the best farmland. The percentage of Blacks in these areas was high. In contrast, the population of the eastern Kentucky mountains where farms were small and hilly was never more than five per cent black.

Summary of Chapter One

Black men and women were among Kentucky's earliest settlers. The pressure of frontier life required great efforts by both races. In a small settler's cabin there was always more work to do than people to do it. Black and white hands together cut the timber and cleared the fields and built the cabins. Black as well as white men and women distinguished themselves in heroic acts to protect their families.

Two important facts should be stressed: 1) Although most early Blacks in Kentucky were slaves, from the beginning, some of Kentucky's black settlers were free. 2) Throughout the pre-Civil War period, more than three-fourths of Kentucky's white families did not hold slaves.

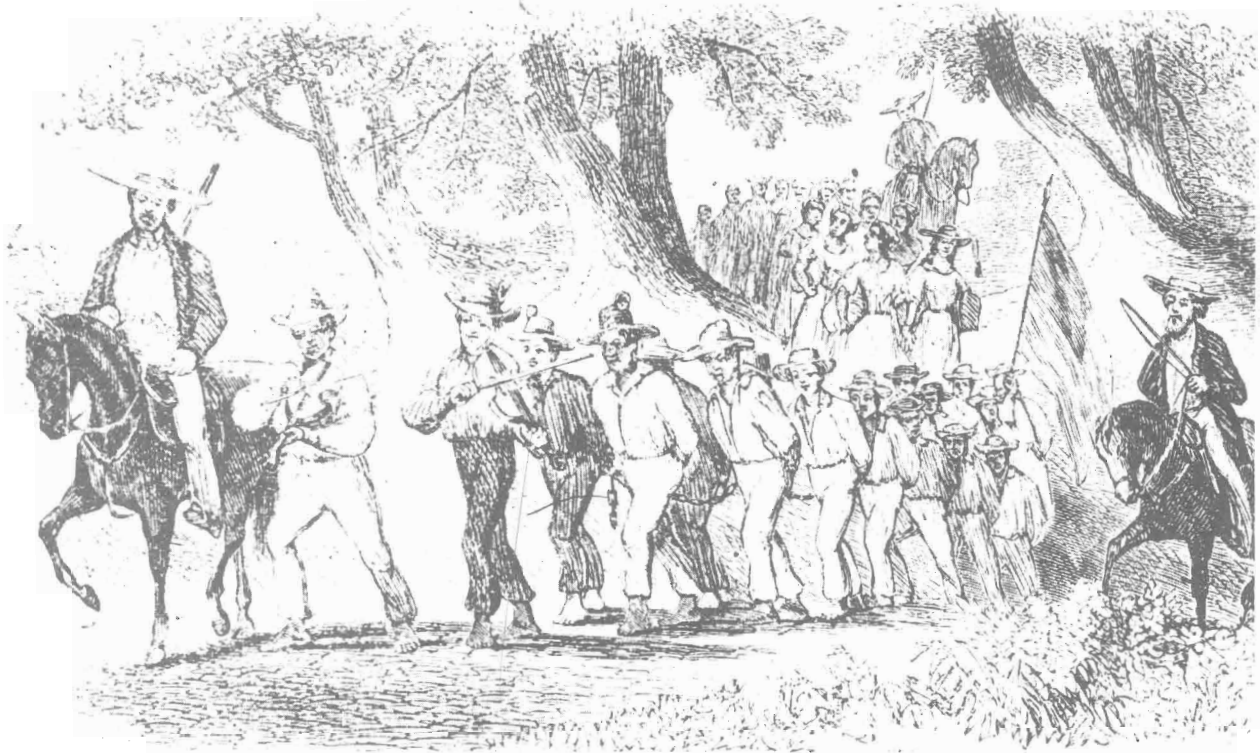
¹Felix Walker, "Diary," published by his brother in *DeBow's Review* of 1884, quoted in Thomas D. Clark's *Bluegrass Cavalcade* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1956), p. 7

²Quoted in J. Winston Coleman, Jr. *Slavery Times in Kentucky* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1940), p. 3

³*Ibid.*, page 7

Chapter Two

Slavery in Kentucky



A GROUP OF SLAVES, HEADED FOR THE SOUTHERN MARKET, was seen passing through Bourbon County, Kentucky, by the Reverend James Dickey about 1822. This illustration of the Coffle gang based on his description, appeared in an early anti-slavery book.

Perhaps the best way to understand the slave code of Kentucky would be to imagine yourself living under its provision. If you were a slave in Kentucky, you would be considered solely the property of your master, and completely under his control.

Imagine what it would be like to be taken away

from your parents, to be sold or traded. You might never see them again, or even know where they were. You would have to work all day, every day except Sunday. Your time was not your own. Wandering by yourself in the woods or fields, you might be picked up as a runaway and be beaten for trying to escape.

Work Rules

Your master controlled your time. You worked as many hours as he demanded. If you had free time and wanted to work for someone else, this was not allowed without your master's consent. It was common, however, for him to let you work for another person. If you were a skilled carpenter, for example, your owner might "hire you out" to his friend who was building a house. But the law provided that the master kept the wages you earned this way.

Travel Regulations

Your movements were under your master's control. You could not leave his land without a written permission slip stating your destination and your time of return. You were not allowed to remain on another's premises for more than four hours unless you were waiting for your master's grain at a local mill or attending church on Sunday. You could not buy or sell anything without your master's permission slip; if you were caught doing this you could receive up to ten lashes from a whip.

Education

As a slave in Kentucky, you would have had one advantage that slaves in states farther south did not share. Kentucky law permitted slaves to learn to read and write. So you might have been taught to read and write by your master or mistress. They might even have allowed you to attend one of the few schools taught by free Blacks in Kentucky. Or you might have been taught to read the Bible in a church-sponsored Sunday school.

Marriage

If you married another slave, the law did not recognize that marriage as valid. Your owner could

break up the marriage at any time or even force you to live with someone of his choice. If a slave couple had children, they belonged, legally, not to the couple but to the woman's owner. The owner could discipline your children, or beat your children, or sell your children to anyone he chose. You would be powerless to defend your own children.

Punishment

For breaking any of these rules, you could be punished by public whipping. Many a Kentucky town had a public whipping post prominently located on one of the busy streets so that it would serve as a warning as well as a place of punishment. The law provided the required number of stripes (strokes of the whip) for various kinds of crime.

Slave owners so feared the possibility of slave insurrections that slaves involved in riots, unlawful assemblies, or seditious speeches would be punished with as many as thirty-nine stripes. For arson or robbery, the slave could receive 200 stripes—inflicted on different days. For burning public buildings, conspiring rebellion, attempted murder and rape, the punishment was death.

Advertisements for runaway slaves in Kentucky newspapers describe the cruel punishments many slaves received.¹ Pierce Griffin, of Shelbyville, advertised for his slave Charles, who had "lost several of his fore-teeth, and has considerable marks of the whip on his seat." Joseph McClaskey lost Bob, "little cross-eyed, bandy-legged and much scarred with the whip." Charles, who ran away from Harrison Cooksey, "will no doubt show the marks of a recent whipping, if taken."

Some slaves were even branded with hot irons. The keeper of a slave jail in Lexington caught a mulatto woman with a "Brand on the cheek, forehead, and breast resembling the letter 'H'." Another slave in the jail was a "stout black boy, Mose, who has a burn on his buttock from a red hot iron in the shape of an 'X' and his back is much scarred with the whip."

The rules and regulations described above governed the slavery system in Kentucky. Would you have liked to live under such a system? How do you suppose you might have reacted to these rules? Can you imagine what slavery did to the men and women who were forced to live as slaves?

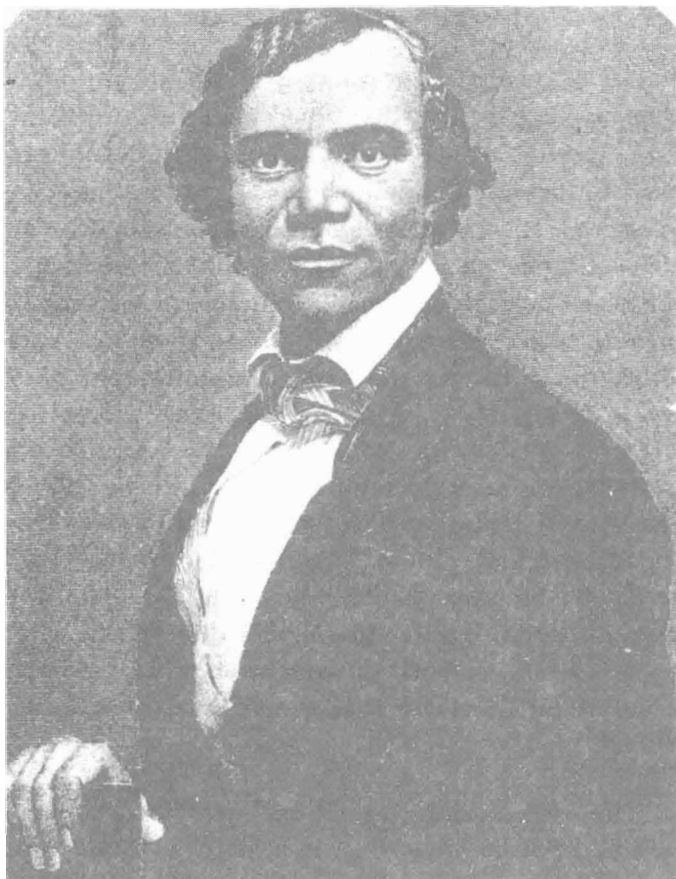
L. C. ROBARDS,
DEALER IN NEGROES,
LEXINGTON, KY.
PERSONS wishing to Buy or Sell Negroes, will, at all times, find a market for them by calling at my **NEW JAIL**, a few doors below the "Bruen House" on Short street.
N. B. The highest cash price will be paid for Young and Likely Negroes.
July 2-81-y

Henry Bibb

One such man was Henry Bibb. Born in Shelby County in 1815, Henry Bibb was the son of a slave mother and a white father whom he never knew. While he was still quite young, he was taken from his mother to be hired out to a neighboring farmer in order to pay for the education of his master's son.

As he grew older, he was hired out to a number of different people. While working for a man in Oldham County, he met and fell in love with Melinda, a slave belonging to William Gatewood. They were married and Bibb was sold to the Gatewoods. After a few years, which were highlighted by the birth of his daughter, Henry Bibb decided to flee from slavery.

Melinda was afraid to accompany him so Bibb promised to return for her after he found the way north to freedom. He made his way to the Ohio River and bought passage on a steamer going to Cincinnati. Since his skin was very light and he was wearing fine clothes, no one suspected he was an escaping slave. He made his way north to Perrysburg, Ohio, where he spent the winter.



ESCAPED SLAVE, HENRY BIBB, founded a colony for other black escapees in Canada.

Returning south for Melinda the following spring, Henry Bibb was captured and sold to a Mississippi cotton planter. Once again he escaped. Upon learning that Melinda had given up ever seeing him again and was living with another man, Henry Bibb returned to the north to help other escaped slaves.

As a lecturer for the anti-slavery society, he traveled across Michigan and Ohio telling about the evils of slavery as he knew it. After the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act was passed by the United States Congress, fugitive slaves found it dangerous to remain in northern states because they might be recaptured and returned to their masters in the south.

So Henry Bibb, and his wife, Mary, whom he had married in 1847, went to Canada where he supervised the development of a colony for other escaped slaves. While in Canada, Henry Bibb received a letter from his former owner, William Gatewood. In his answer to that letter, Bibb summed up the worst aspects of slavery:


"You may perhaps think hard of us for running away from slavery, but as to myself, I have but one apology to make, which is this: I have only to regret that I did not start at an earlier period To be compelled to stand by and see you whip and lash my wife without mercy when I could afford her no protection, not even by offering myself to suffer the lash in her place, was more than I felt it to be the duty of a slave husband to endure while the way was open to Canada. My infant child was also frequently flogged by Mrs. Gatewood, for crying, until its skin was bruised and literally purple. This kind of treatment was what drove me from home and family to seek a better home for them."²

Slave Trading

To be sold south was the fear of many Kentucky slaves. For Kentucky had a surplus of slaves; there were more slaves than there were jobs for them to do. Further south, in Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi, large cotton plantations developed. Since land was very cheap in those areas, the amount of cotton that might be raised on a given plantation depended mainly on the number of slaves the planter had to work his fields. By buying more and more slaves, the planters could raise more and more cotton.

After 1808, the plantation owners could no longer buy slaves who were imported from Africa because in that year, the United States Congress outlawed the African slave trade. So the planter was willing to pay high prices for slaves from other states. Kentucky and Virginia became famous as "slave-breeding" areas where men and women were sold on the open market much as fine Kentucky horses are sold today.

\$1,200 to \$1,250!



THE undersigned wishes to purchase a large lot of **NEGROES** for the New Orleans market. I will pay \$1,200 to \$1,250 for No. 1 young men, and \$850 to \$1,000 for No. 1 young Women; in fact, I will pay more for likely Negroes than any trader in Kentucky. My office is adjoining the *Broadway House*, on Broadway street, Lexington, Kentucky, where I, or my agent, can always be found.

July 5-80-3m **WM. F. TALBOTT.**

WANT ADS such as this appeared frequently in Kentucky newspapers, indicating that the New Orleans-Kentucky slave trade was a prospering business.

Slave-dealing firms in both Louisville and Lexington bought slaves from individual owners or at auctions. These slaves were kept chained in slave pens until there were enough captives to make up a southern shipment. Some groups were marched south to be sold at Memphis; far more were transported by steamboat down the Mississippi River to Vicksburg or New Orleans. The trade was very profitable. The firms of Hughes & Downing in Lexington, for example, made a profit of over \$3,000 in 1844, during its first year of operation.

As early as 1822, the Reverend James H. Dickey, described this procession of slaves headed for the southern market. "Having passed through Paris, in Bourbon County, Kentucky, the sound of music, (beyond a little rising of ground) attracted my attention. I looked forward and saw the flag of my country waving. Supposing I was about to meet a military parade, I drove hastily to the side of the road; and, having gained the top of my ascent, I discovered, I suppose, about forty black men, all chained together after the following manner: Each of them was handcuffed, and they were arranged in rank and file.

"A chain perhaps forty feet long, the size of a fifth-horse chain, was stretched between the two ranks, to which short chains were joined which connected with the handcuffs. Behind them were, I suppose, about thirty women, in double rank, the couples tied hand to hand. A solemn sadness sat on every countenance, and the dismal silence of this march of despair was interrupted only by the sound of two violins; yes, as if to add insult to injury, the foremost couple were furnished with a violin apiece; the second couple were ornamented with cockades; while near the center waved the republican flag, carried by a hand literally in chains."³

Why Slaves Were Sold

Some slaves were sold south because they had been disciplinary problems to their Kentucky owners. A far greater number of slaves, however, found themselves in the steamboat for New Orleans simply because they were victims of circumstances.

Many events led to the sale of a family's slaves. The crops of the owner were destroyed by blight and creditors demanded money he could raise only from the sale of his slaves. A wealthy man died leaving no heirs to inherit his "property." The slaves on a small plantation had many babies one year and by the next year there were too many mouths to feed. A black boy was sold to pay for the college education of his young white master.

Whatever the reasons, such sales resulted in husbands and wives being separated and children being torn from their parents. Although thousands of black people were subjected to cruel and humiliating indignities on the auction block, the slave trade prospered.

Blacks Resist Slavery

Many slaves refused to submit passively to their degrading status. Often they ran away. (The fugitives will be discussed in Chapter 3). Sometimes they organized revolts against their masters.

In a study of slave revolts for which there is recorded evidence, Herbert Aptheker lists ten instances of organized defiance in Kentucky between

1810 and 1860. Between Greenup and Vanceburg, for example, in August, 1829, a gang of slaves had been shackled two by two and were being marched south to be sold down the river. They secretly filed their chains and, at a given signal, overpowered and killed two of their drivers. A third overseer escaped and summoned the authorities who recaptured the rebellious slaves.

Another group of slaves who were on their way to be sold in New Orleans revolted in 1826. Seventy-five slaves on a ship headed down the Mississippi took control of the ship and guided it to the Indiana shore. The escapees left the ship and fled northward, but they were pursued almost immediately by Kentucky authorities. Most of the Blacks were recaptured. Five of the leaders were hanged and the others were again taken south for sale.

It is hard to discover how many such revolts occurred. If a group of slaves successfully defied their masters, the masters often did not publicize the fact for fear that other slaves might also try to revolt. If a slave revolt was unsuccessful, the master might punish those who were involved and not tell anyone about the attempt.

Individual Acts of Resistance

Rather than organizing revolts, some slaves revolted against slavery through individual actions. Historians have noted a few such actions; it is probably safe to assume that there were many more that were never recorded.

A slave named Emily belonging to the abolitionist Cassius Clay is said to have poisoned his son. A notoriously brutal white woman, Mrs. Carolina Turner, was choked to death by a slave she was flogging. The slave was hanged for his deed.

Another Kentucky slave, a carpenter who heard he was to be sold south, cut off one of his hands so that he could no longer ply his trade. In Covington, a father and mother who were being held until a shipment was ready to go down the river agreed to "send the souls of their children to Heaven rather than have them descend to the hell of slavery."⁴ After killing their own children, the parents committed suicide.

Brutal as these acts may seem, they were desperate acts of desperate people. Any picture of slavery, to be a realistic picture, must include some mention of these horrors.

**A LARGE NUMBER
OF
NEGROES
WANTED!**

The undersigned wishes to purchase throughout the year, a large number of

**SOUND & HEALTHY
Negroes
OF BOTH SEXES.**

FOR which the **HIGHEST PRICE IN CASH** will be paid at his Jail, opposite the County Jail, Short Street, Lexington, Ky., where either himself or his Agents L. C. & A. O. Robards, at all times may be found.

Any letters addressed to me concerning negroes, shall have prompt attention.

Dec. 16-25 6mo. **R. W. LUCAS.**

BUILDING LOTS FOR SALE!

THOSE splendid **BUILDING LOTS**, on **Broadway**, on each side of the residence of **C. C. ROGERS, Esq.**, are offered for sale.

NOTICE.
THE business connection between myself and Messrs. L. C. & A. O. ROBARDS, having been discontinued, notice is hereby given that they are no longer my Agents.

JOS. H. NORTHCUTT.
October 21, 1859-9-tf

Negroes Wanted.



THE undersigned having entered into Partnership under the firm of

NORTHCUTT, MARSHALL & CO.,

For the purpose of dealing in Slaves, and will transact business at the house lately occupied by Jos. H. NORTHCUTT, on East Main Street, Lexington, nearly opposite the Woolen Factory of Messrs. Thompson & Van Dalsem. They wish to purchase a large number of

NEGROES, OF BOTH SEXES,

And will pay the highest prices offered in the market. Persons at a distance having Negroes for sale, and finding it inconvenient to bring them to the city, will please address us by mail.

**JOSEPH H. NORTHCUTT.
SILAS MARSHALL.
GEORGE S. MARSHALL.**

Oct. 21-9-tf

Summary of Chapter Two

Kentucky slaves lived a strictly regulated life. The law regarded them as property, not persons. As property, they could be bought and sold by their masters and subjected to very cruel punishments. They could be hired out to other persons needing their services but the wages for those services were paid to the slave's master, not the slave.

Since Kentucky had a surplus of slaves and states farther south always could use more slaves for the cotton plantations, a flourishing trade of selling Kentucky slaves in southern markets developed. Blacks feared being sold down the river where working conditions were generally even harsher than those in Kentucky.

Blacks resisted slavery in a number of ways. Some slaves over-powered and killed their masters. Others

fled to the north. Still others found slavery so intolerable that they committed suicide rather than continue under such an inhuman system.

The best way to summarize slavery in Kentucky may be through the words of an ex-slave. Sarah Jackson was allowed by her master to leave Kentucky and move to Canada. When interviewed there, she said, "It is a great heaviness on a person's mind to be a slave. It never looked right to see people taken and chained in a gang to be driven off. I never could bear to see my own color all fastened together to go to such a place as down the river. I used to go in the house and shut myself up. I did not know how long before it would be my own fate . . . I am better here than I was at home,—I feel lighter,—the dread is gone. I have a sister and brother in slavery in Kentucky. I intend to send my children to school." ⁵

¹The following quotations all appeared in Kentucky newspapers between 1830 and 1851 and are quoted in Coleman, *Slavery Times in Kentucky*, pp. 246-247.

²Henry Bibb, *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, an American Slave*, (Published by the author, 1849), pp. 175-178. (This book and many other early slave narratives are available at many Kentucky libraries on microcards issued by the Lost Cause Press.)

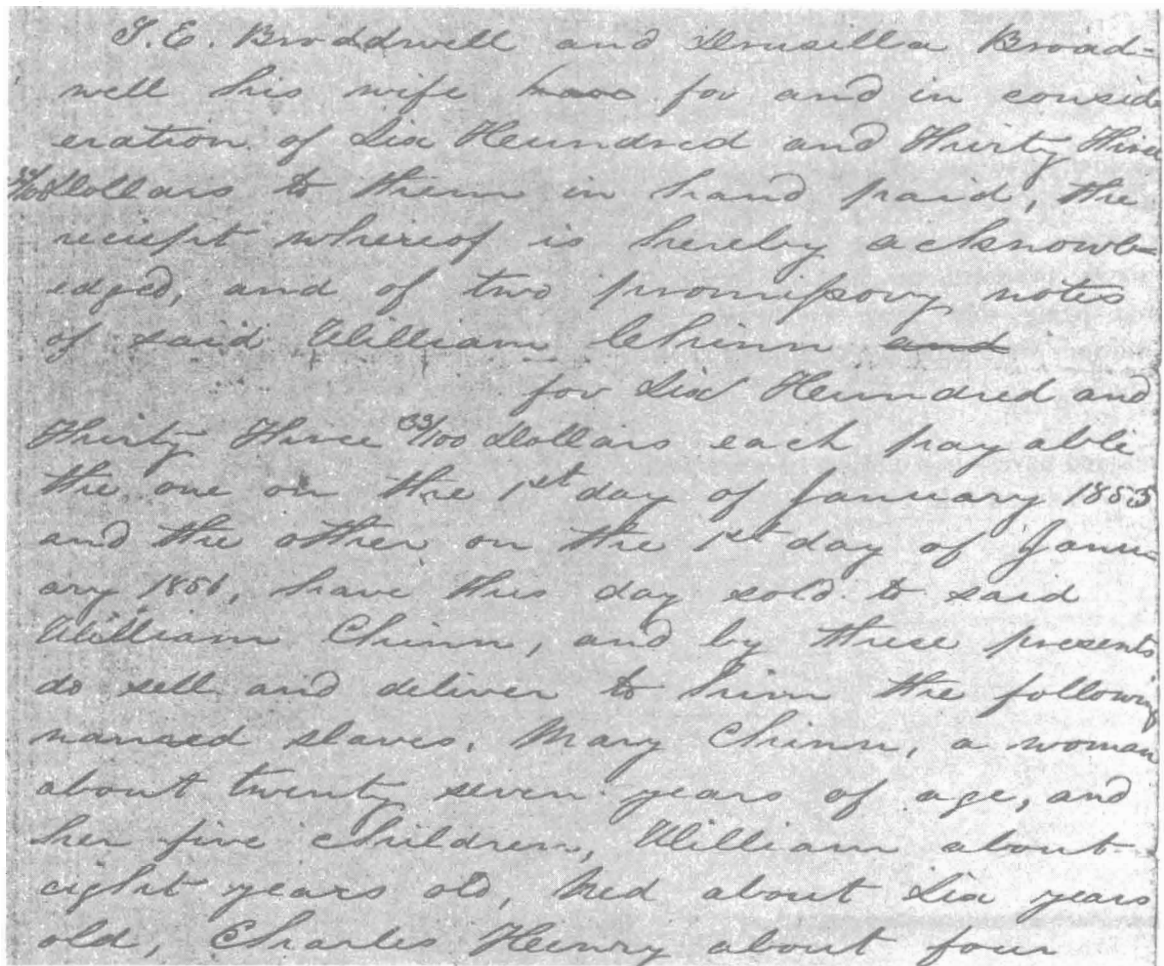
³Quoted in Coleman, *Slavery Times in Kentucky*, p. 145

⁴*Ibid.*, page 269.

⁵Benjamin Drew, *The Refugee: or the Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada* (Boston: John P. Jewett, 1856, Reprinted for Basic Afro-American Reprint Library, Johnson Reprint, 1968), p. 179.

Chapter Three

Free Blacks



J.E. Broadwell and Annella Broadwell his wife have for and in consideration of Six Thousand and Thirty Three Dollars to them in hand paid, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, and of two promissory notes of said William Chinn and for Six Thousand and Thirty Three Dollars each payable the one on the 1st day of January 1853 and the other on the 1st day of January 1854, have this day sold to said William Chinn, and by these presents do sell and deliver to him the following named slaves. Mary Chinn, a woman about twenty seven years of age, and her five children, William about eight years old, Ned about six years old, Charles Henry about four

SOME SLAVES, WHOSE MASTERS ALLOWED THEM TO "HIRE OUT" THEIR TIME, WERE ABLE TO SAVE ENOUGH MONEY TO PURCHASE THEIR FREEDOM. William Chinn, a Louisville Black who worked as a caterer, bought his own freedom and later was able to buy his wife and children out of slavery. The rare document recording this sale (pictured above) has been preserved by Chinn's grandson, G.D. Wilson of Louisville.

From Kentucky's earliest days, there were free Blacks as well as slaves living in the state. There were 144 free Blacks in Kentucky in 1790. This number had increased to 10,684 in 1860. Some of these people were slaves who had been granted their freedom by Kentucky masters. Others came into the state as free men or were born to free parents.

Slaves who were freed by their masters were given

certificates signed by the master and the county official who issued the certificate. These "free papers" were very important. Blacks were generally assumed to be slaves or runaways unless they could produce their free papers. Kentucky history contains several examples of free Blacks who were sold back into slavery because their free papers had been destroyed.

Where Freedmen Lived

Because of the possibility of being kidnapped and sold back into slavery, most free Blacks chose to live in the larger towns where their freedom was not so noticeable.

Jegle's *Louisville Directory* of 1845 listed the slave and free population of the city by wards. As you can see, both slave and free Blacks lived throughout the city. They were not concentrated in any one area.

Ward	White	Slave	Free Blacks
1	3225	249	21
2	3448	289	37
3	5323	599	63
4	5178	636	75
5	6035	685	122
6	3745	875	102
7	2718	504	79
8	2930	219	61

Occupations

Many free Blacks were skilled craftsmen, working as barbers, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, and cabinet makers. Others worked as draymen, carriage drivers, and grooms for horses. Both free Blacks and slaves worked in some of Kentucky's earliest industries: rope factories in Louisville and Lexington, the iron works of Bath County, the salt works of Clay County, and the iron and lead mines of Caldwell and Crittenden Counties.

Riverboat commerce provided employment opportunities for both slave and free Blacks—stevedores to load the boats, cabin boys and waiters to serve the passengers, and stokers to feed the steam engine its coal.

Some free Blacks ran their own businesses. For example, Robert Boyd, a Kentucky freedman, invented a corded bed. He moved to Cincinnati where he set up a factory employing twenty-five men to

build these beds. A Lexington free Black invested in real estate. In 1830, he held property that was worth \$20,000.

Some free Blacks were engaged as clergymen and teachers. The Reverend Henry Adams was a free Black who became pastor of the Louisville Fifth Street Baptist Church in 1839. In 1841, he opened a black school at that church. In Lexington, George Dupee, minister of the Pleasant Green Baptist Church, received his freedom in an unusual manner—his congregation bought him. Hearing their preacher was to be sold, a delegation from the church asked a white minister, the Reverend William Pratt, to buy Dupee for them. They repaid Pratt on the installment plan. Each Monday morning members of the faithful congregation delivered the Sunday offerings to Pratt until the entire sum was paid.

Aaron Siddles

One Kentucky free Black was Aaron Siddles. He had been a slave who had been bought by a trader to be sold down the river. He escaped and persuaded a white man, Timothy Guard, to buy him for \$1,000. Aaron Siddles explained the arrangement:

"I had a previous understanding with Guard, that if he bought me, I was to have a chance to buy myself. He gave me a paper signed before witnesses, that I was to be free, when I paid him \$1,600. He also gave me papers stating I was allowed to trade for myself: if I would not pay, he would, and if anyone would not pay me, he would compel them. I went to work as a steward of a steamboat. At first, I got \$35 a month, which raised till I got \$100 a month. I paid off Guard between six and seven years after; still remained on the boats, and, in all, I worked eleven years with one man at \$100 a month."¹

Although he had a good job and had lived in Kentucky for many years, Siddles found that living as a free Black in a state that had so many slaves was just too nerve-racking. He was always afraid that he might be captured and sold back into slavery. So he finally left Kentucky and moved to Canada where he could live free from fear in one of the many colonies established by Blacks from the United States.

Free Blacks Owned Slaves

Many free Blacks in Kentucky were slave-owners. However, the slaves they owned were not slaves in the traditional sense but rather members of their own families whose freedom they had purchased from a white master.

The 1830 census lists 107 Kentucky free Blacks who owned slaves. Most of these Blacks listed only one or two slaves. None held more than Jerry Allen of Fayette County who listed nine slaves.

Why didn't these free Blacks just free their family members after they bought them? One reason may have been financial. In order to have the free papers written, a small fee had to be paid by the slaveholder. The free Black who had saved all his money to buy his wife may not have had even the little extra money needed to have her papers signed and witnessed. Or perhaps, the black father felt that he could more adequately protect his children against the danger of re-enslavement if he actually owned those children.

In 1850, a Kentucky law was passed which stated that any Black who was freed by his master had to leave the state. Then black slaveholders had to list their families as slaves so that they might remain in Kentucky. This practice led to some interesting situations, such as that of a free black woman who

bought her husband. If he wanted to go out at night, he had to have a pass signed by his wife (who legally was his master), stating where he was to go and when he was due to return home.

Laws Governing Free Blacks

Kentucky laws were stricter for free Blacks than for whites. The free Black was not allowed to hold slaves other than his own relatives; nor was he allowed to hold any white person as bondsman. A 1798 statute allowed the free black householder to keep one gun, powder and shot to protect his home in case of Indian attack. But if he were caught carrying a gun in the streets, he was subject to a five dollar fine.

Some punishments were more severe. He was subject to the death penalty for burning public buildings, tobacco houses, warehouses, or stables; for conspiring rebellion; or for rape of a white woman. If he were convicted of keeping a disorderly house or loitering about without visible means of support, he could be sold into servitude for not less than two nor more than ten years. Although in most other cases he was subject to the same punishments as a white man, the punishments the black man actually received were frequently more severe than for whites committing the same kinds of crimes.

GEORGE W. (PAPPY) DUPEE, born a slave in Gallatin County in 1826, was bought out of slavery by the congregation of Pleasant Green Baptist Church in Lexington. In 1858, Dupee became pastor of Washington Street Missionary Baptist Church in Paducah where he served for thirty-nine years.



Kentucky never prohibited educating either free Blacks or slaves (as did most southern states). Kentucky's first Constitution contained no provisions that would prevent the free Black from voting.

However, the 1799 Constitution did ban voting by free Blacks. Kentucky free Blacks were allowed to own property and to buy, sell, or otherwise dispose of that property.

Summary of Chapter Three

Many free Blacks lived in Kentucky during the slavery days. In 1860, five per cent of Kentucky's black population was free. These Blacks lived daily with the fear that they might be sold back into slavery. To prevent this, they took special care of their free papers.

Free Blacks engaged in a variety of occupations.

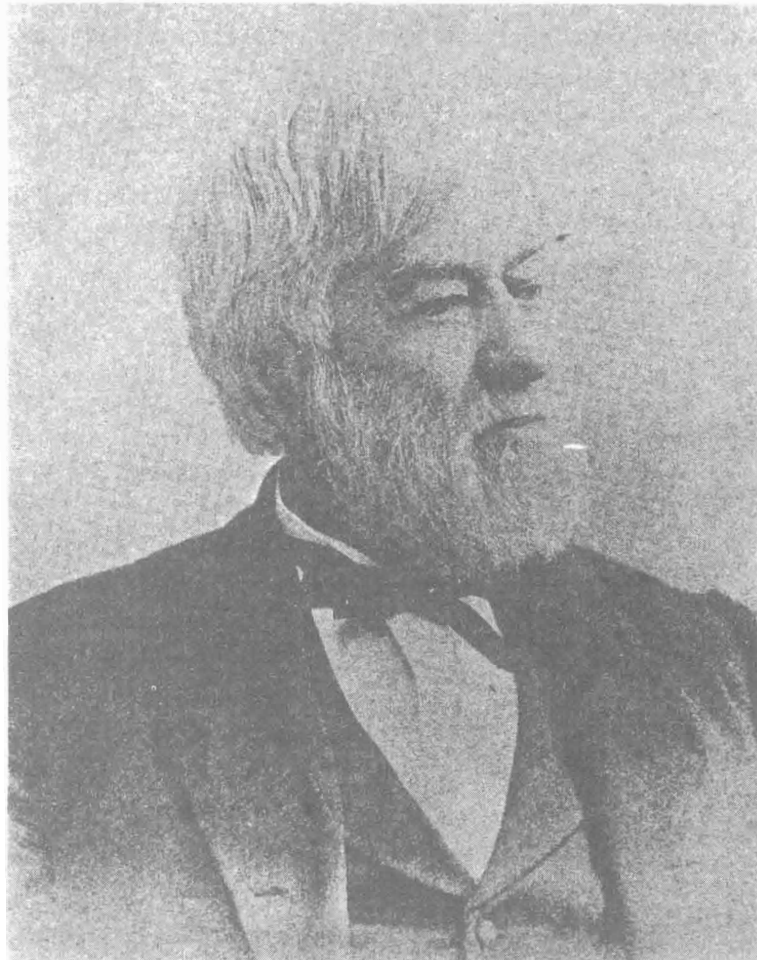
Some were paid excellent wages. Some owned property. Some even held title to members of their own families. Many attended schools which were taught by other free Blacks.

These black men and women were justly proud of their status as free Blacks of Kentucky.

¹ Drew, *The Refugee: or the Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada*, p. 271

Chapter Four

Attempts to Abolish Slavery



CASSIUS MARCELLUS CLAY, SR.

Throughout the history of slavery in Kentucky, there were responsible individuals and groups that urged the abolition of the dreaded institution. As early as 1788, the Baptist General Committee of

Virginia, which at that time included Kentucky, recommended that its members “make use of every legal measure to extirpate this horrid evil from the land.”¹

Anti-Slavery Baptist Churches

In 1792, the first anti-slavery Baptist Congregation was organized in Woodford County. By 1807, twelve Emancipation Baptist Congregations with about 300 members joined together to form an association known as the Friends of Humanity. These church members did not hold slaves themselves, vowed to purchase slaves only in order to set them free, and pledged to work for the eventual complete emancipation of the Negro race in America.

Presbyterian Church

The first anti-slavery tract in Kentucky was written by the Reverend David Rice in 1792. This Presbyterian minister, who was often called the father of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, preached eloquently about the injustices of slavery.

In 1794, the governing body of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky resolved that slaves belonging to members of that body should be taught to read the scriptures and prepared for freedom. Two years later, the same body urged the immediate emancipation of all slaves who had been thus prepared and urged continued education for others. Church leaders apparently took the latter admonition seriously for, in 1826, church leaders reported that fifteen schools for Blacks had been established.

Kentucky Abolition Society

There is evidence that two abolition societies had been organized in Kentucky before 1797 but we have no record of their activities. In 1807, the Kentucky Abolition Society was organized by many of the same people who were members of the Friends of Humanity. This society was active in advertising the evils of slavery and urging emancipation.

In May, 1822, the society established in Shelbyville one of the first anti-slavery newspapers in the United States. *The Abolition Intelligencer and Missionary Magazine* was edited by the Reverend John Finley Crowe. The paper was published monthly for one year when it was forced to stop publication for

lack of sufficient funds. This paper never had more than 500 subscribers. With the death of this newspaper, interest in abolition in Kentucky decreased and, by 1827, only eight abolition societies were left in Kentucky with a combined membership of about 200 people.

These early Kentucky societies generally proposed to end slavery through legislation as had already been done in most of the northern states. Slaves would be free gradually, perhaps in five or ten years. This would enable the slave, through education, to prepare for his freedom. The slaveholder would be paid by the state for the loss of his slaves.

The Kentucky Colonization Society

“What would become of the black man once he was granted his freedom?” This was the question many of the early abolitionist societies refused to answer. Much of the literature they published indicated that they assumed that he would not remain where he was; but where he would go was never very clearly defined. One group in Kentucky did have an answer to that question. The Kentucky Colonization Society was organized in order to raise money to send black men back to Africa as colonists.

The first Kentucky chapter of the American Colonization Society was formed in 1823. By 1829, Kentucky boasted a statewide organization which was described as one of the most active in the United States. Many of the state’s most outstanding citizens were members of this group. Henry Clay was a national president of the organization. Most of the members were slaveholders themselves and, hence, the organization’s emphasis in Kentucky was upon removing emancipated slaves to Africa rather than upon the emancipation itself.

The dreams of colonization always exceeded financial realities. In 1833, the Kentucky society collected \$1,137—enough to send about 45 freedmen to Liberia, West Africa, at the going estimate of \$25 per passage. Kentucky’s slave population was 165,000. When we subtract these 45 from the 165,000 slaves that remained in Kentucky, we can see what a tiny effort this was. The wonder is that such important citizens championed this cause for such a long period of time.

Later schemes were proposed for setting aside pieces of land in the United States—perhaps an area in the Louisiana Purchase or a part of Texas—to be used exclusively for black colonization. In 1865, the Kentucky Senate passed a bill instructing Congress to set aside a territory for colonizing the Blacks, but this proposal never gained widespread support. Most of the state's newly freed slaves considered Kentucky their home. They were no more interested than their white neighbors in moving to the wilds of Texas.

Political Efforts to Abolish Slavery

Kentucky's first Constitution, in 1792, legalized slavery. According to this Constitution, the legislature could not free the slaves without obtaining the consent of the slaveholders and paying them for this property loss. Immigrants could not be prohibited from bringing their own slaves into Kentucky.

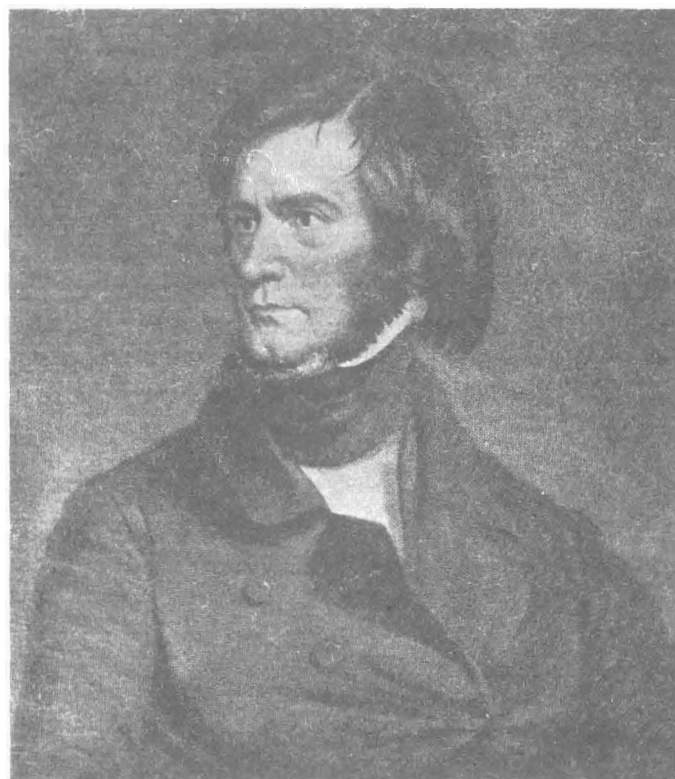
This Constitution did give the General Assembly the power to make slaveowners treat their slaves with humanity. The Assembly could require the owner to provide adequate food and clothing and could forbid injurious physical punishments.

The Breckinridge Plan

One of the foremost anti-slavery workers in Kentucky, Robert J. Breckinridge, thought of an imaginative way to abolish slavery without changing the Kentucky Constitution which said that slaves couldn't be freed without the consent of their owners:

The General Assembly could pass a law saying 1) No slaves from other states could be imported into Kentucky. 2) All children born to Kentucky slaves after a certain date would be born free, not the property of their mother's master. Thus a man's slaves would remain his property (which complied with the Constitution); but the children of those slaves would be free. With the passage of one generation, slavery would disappear in Kentucky.

In 1831, forty-eight important slaveholders met with Breckinridge in Lexington and pledged to free all the future offspring of their slaves when those children reached the age of twenty-one.



ROBERT J. BRECKINRIDGE

The Non-Importation Act

In 1833, the first step of the Breckinridge plan, a non-importation act, was finally passed by the Kentucky General Assembly. It provided that any person who should import a slave from another state or should buy or sell any slave he knew was imported would be fined \$600. This act did not prevent people who immigrated into Kentucky from bringing their slaves with them, but it did say that they must pledge not to sell those slaves.

Anti-slavery forces were jubilant with the passage of this act. James G. Birney, an ex-slaveholder who published an anti-slavery newspaper, hailed Kentucky "as the best site in our whole country for taking a stand against slavery."² Lewis Tappan, one of the most noted emancipationists in the country, predicted that the next General Assembly would abolish slavery in some way.

However, the next General Assembly refused to deal with the slavery issue squarely, and instead debated the possibility of calling a constitutional convention. In 1837, the General Assembly called for a convention but the voters rejected this call by a solid majority.

The Constitutional Convention of 1849

Since the General Assembly did not pass step two of the Breckinridge plan, anti-slavery forces began to push for a constitutional convention. Slavery could be abolished by a new constitution. Finally, in 1848, a constitutional convention was called.

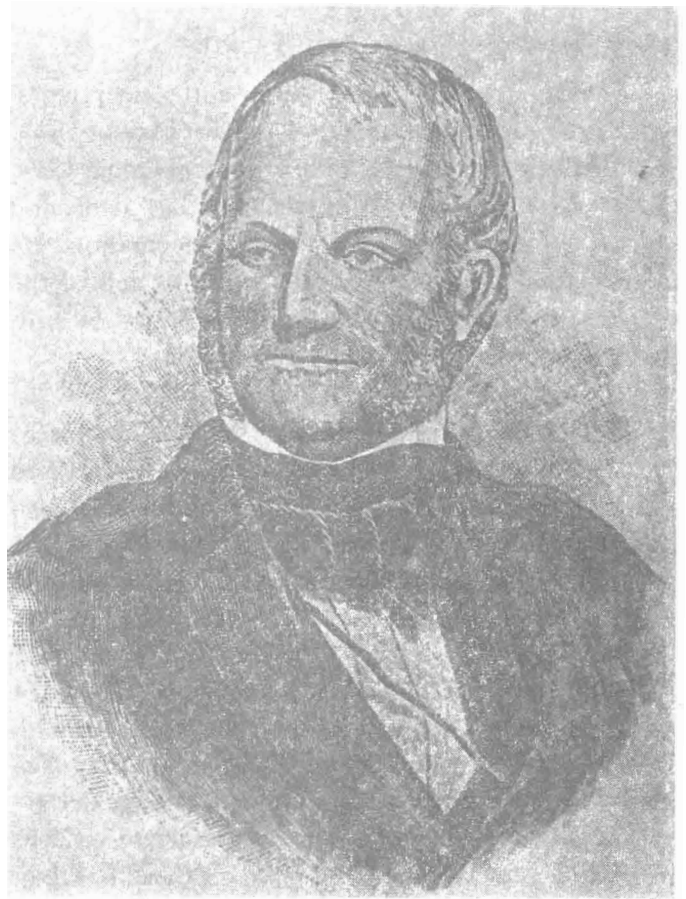
People who opposed slavery began to make plans to elect delegates who would write an anti-slavery constitution. Emancipation meetings, composed of many of the leading men of both political parties, were held in Louisville. Committees were appointed for forming plans for the coming elections. Some newspapers, including the *Louisville Courier* and the *Western Kentuckian*, came out for emancipation.

Speaking against slavery, U.S. Senators Henry Clay and J.R. Underwood, church leaders like the Rev. Robert Breckinridge and the Rev. John G. Fee (founder of Berea College), and local citizens led by the fiery tempered orator Cassius M. Clay toured the state urging citizens to elect convention delegates who opposed slavery. They fought a losing battle, however, against candidates who had been active in local politics for many years. When the votes were cast, none of the anti-slavery delegates had been elected. The new constitution which the elected delegates drew up in 1849 contained almost the same provisions regarding slavery that had been in the 1799 constitution.

In a sense, Kentucky's 1849 constitutional convention marked the end of peaceful attempts to abolish slavery in the state. If a state like Kentucky, in which less than twenty per cent of the population held slaves, chose not to do away with the injustice of slavery in a peaceful manner, then perhaps the problem of slavery could not be solved peacefully.

James G. Birney

Among the most vigorous opponents of slavery in Kentucky was James G. Birney, a slaveowner who had been born in Kentucky, moved to Alabama, and returned to Kentucky in 1833. He settled on a farm near Danville, immediately freed all his slaves, and began to urge other slaveholders to do the same.



JAMES G. BIRNEY

In March, 1835, he organized the Kentucky Anti-Slavery Society that became part of the American Anti-Slavery Society of which William Lloyd Garrison was the most famous member. With Garrison's support, Birney planned to publish an anti-slavery newspaper, *The Philanthropist*, in Danville.

Public opposition to Birney's plan was swift and loud. Threats against the life of the printer who was going to print the newspaper finally frightened him so much that he secretly sold his print shop and left town. The postmaster at Danville declared he would not accept copies of *The Philanthropist* for mailing.

Finally, in desperation, Birney moved to Cincinnati where he was able to publish his paper without continual fear of mob violence.

Cassius Clay

Another attempt to publish an anti-slavery newspaper in Kentucky was made by Cassius Clay in 1845. Son of the wealthy slaveholder, General Green Clay, Cassius Clay held slaves of his own but dedicated himself to the cause of gradual emancipation. He loved a good fight and was ever ready to defend the anti-slavery cause with flamboyant oratory or with dueling pistols or his famous bowie knife.

Clay knew what opposition the publication of *The True American* would encounter. So he fortified the printing shop with iron doors and placed two loaded cannons at the head of the stairs facing the door. Then, in June, 1845, he issued his first edition.

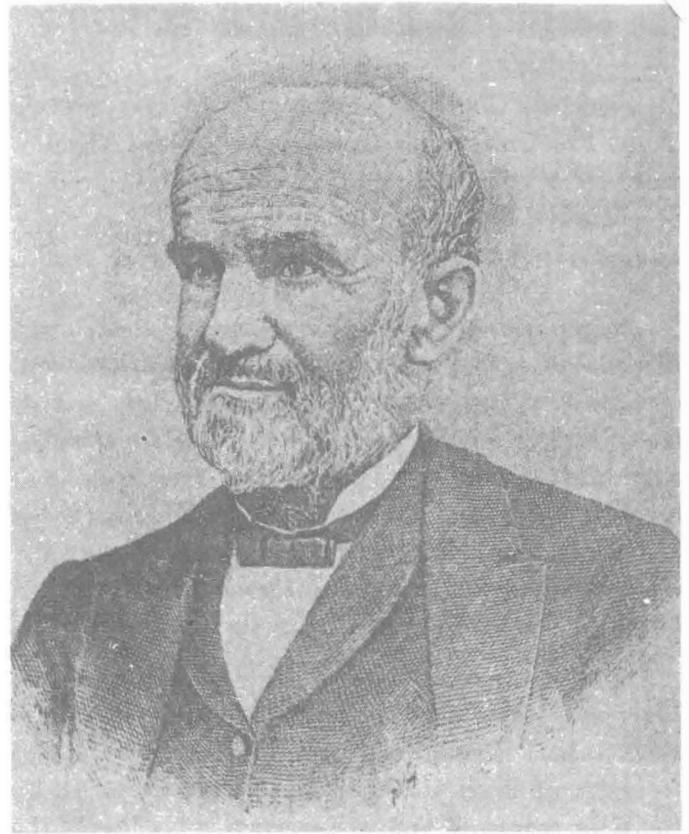
Publication continued until August 18, 1845. On that day, while Clay was sick in bed with typhoid, Judge George R. Trotter of the Lexington police court ordered the presses impounded. A large delegation of some of Lexington's most important citizens dismantled Clay's presses and shipped them to Ohio.

That night, jubilant over the destruction of Clay's newspaper, masked "black Indians" roamed the streets of Lexington, whipping, beating, tarring & feathering numerous colored persons."³ Mob rule seemed to be in control in Kentucky.

Although *The True American* was silenced before its voice could have much effect in Kentucky, another of Cassius Clay's actions was to have a very great effect on the history of Blacks in Kentucky. In 1858, Cassius Clay gave a piece of land to the Reverend John G. Fee who planned to establish a school based upon abolitionist principles.

The Reverend John G. Fee

John Fee was a young idealist who felt that men would live as brothers if they were taught about brotherhood from an early age. He began teaching and putting his theories into practice in District School Number 16 in Madison County. To persuade Fee to stay in the area, Clay gave Fee land on which to build a home within ready proximity to District School Number 16. Later, a neighbor of Fee's



JOHN G. FEE

donated an additional ten acres. On this, Fee "chopped out a project of a school" and this slab schoolhouse was the first building of what was to become Berea College. The first students were young white boys from nearby towns and farms but Fee hoped eventually to include blacks in the classes as well.⁴

He was not able to do so before mob rule intervened. The John Brown raid upon Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in 1859 so frightened Kentucky slaveholders that they feared a similar raid might happen in their state. And they feared that John Fee and his abolitionist teachers might lead such a raid.

So an armed mob of Kentucky citizens visited Fee and his teachers and warned them that their lives would be in danger if they didn't leave the state within ten days. Unwilling to risk the lives of the families of the teachers and knowing that a school could not operate effectively under the threat of mob violence, Fee ordered the school closed. The abolitionist colony moved back across the Ohio River to Cincinnati in December, 1859.

Summary of Chapter Four

Opposition to slavery existed in Kentucky from the state's earliest days. Church leaders and political leaders both spoke against the dreaded institution. Although never more than twenty per cent of Kentucky's citizens held slaves, the power and influence of those slaveholders was so great that legal

attempts to end slavery always failed.

Among the famous Kentuckians who opposed slavery were the Reverend David Rice, the Reverend Robert J. Breckinridge, James G. Birney, Cassius Clay, and the Reverend John G. Fee.

¹Quoted by Asa Earl Martin, the *Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky Prior to 1850* (Louisville: Standard Printing, 1918), p. 19.

²*Ibid*, p. 102.

³August 20, 1845 entry in the diary of a young Transylvania University law student, J.E. Kenton. Quoted in Coleman, *Slavery in Kentucky*, P. 312.

⁴William Goodell Frost, *For the Mountains*, (Revell: Louisville, Ky., 1937), Chapter 5, p. 60.

Chapter Five

The Underground Railroad



ONE LINK IN THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD SYSTEM WAS THIS UNDERGROUND TUNNEL at the rear of the Carneal House in Covington. In this recent photograph of the tunnel, Mrs. Annie Hargraves (right) shows Mayor Claude E. Hensley and her daughter, Mrs. Beatrice Yelder, a book containing an account of her grandmother's escape from slavery.

Many Kentucky slaves felt that they could not live under slavery and chose to risk their lives to escape from servitude. They left their familiar homes, often with little more than the clothes on their backs, and traveled northward into completely unfamiliar territory.

Numbers of unknown people must have helped

the escaping slave. Probably other slaves on the farm concealed his absence for a short time in order to give him the chance to get as far away as possible. He must have had to ask for directions somewhere along the way. Some boat operators must have "looked the other way" as an extra Black came on board to cross the river.

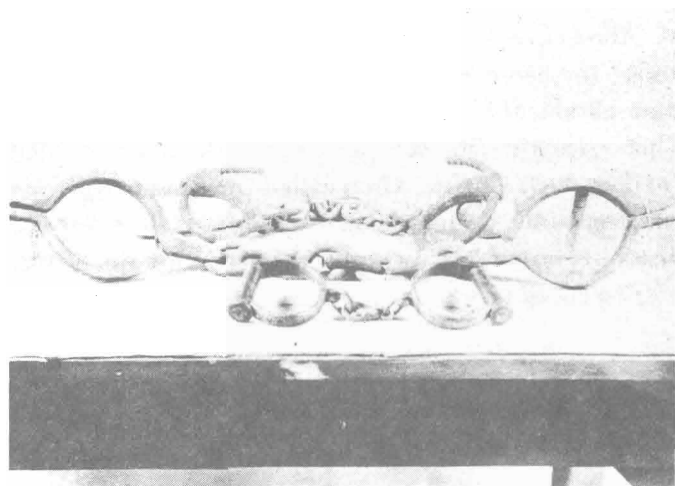
How They Escaped

One of the most unforgettable scenes in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is the picture of Eliza, with her child on her back, desperately making her way across the frozen Ohio River toward freedom. However, few people realize that this is a description of an actual event. Harriet Beecher Stowe had heard Dr. John Rankin tell of a cold winter's night when just such a mother and her child crossed the ice from Kentucky to the Rankin home on a bluff overlooking the Ohio River.

Not all slaves were forced to such desperate measures to escape; some light-skinned slaves such as Henry Bibb were able to simply put on the fashionable clothing of their white masters, buy steamship tickets, and ride across the Ohio to freedom. Others took less comfortable routes. Joseph Sider was an Indiana peddler who made regular trips into Kentucky. His wagon was constructed with a hollow space under the boxes in which he kept his wares. On his return to Indiana he often carried black men hidden in that compartment.

Calvin Fairbanks abducted the Stanton family—mother, father, and six children—from the neighborhood of Covington, Kentucky, by packing them in a load of straw.

Once twenty-eight Blacks from Boone County, Kentucky arrived in Cincinnati just before daylight. For their own safety, it was necessary to convey them



IMAGINE WEARING THESE CHAINS.

farther north almost immediately. A number of carriages were procured and a solemn funeral procession with men and women hidden in the black drapes of mourning was soon on its way north to freedom.

There are several instances recorded where the son of a wealthy planter, rebelling against the system in which he was raised, would make the trip to Cincinnati, or Evansville, or Columbus, attended by a number of slaves, and would return home alone.

Since anyone who helped a fugitive slave was subject to criminal punishment, those people who did so kept no records so we know very little about them. Once the slave got across the river to Ohio, Illinois, or Indiana, however, he often found members of the Underground Railroad.

The Underground Railroad

The Underground Railroad was made up of families and individuals who believed that slavery was such an evil institution that they were morally justified in assisting slaves to escape. Gradually, as one such person contacted another, this Underground Railroad grew to be a whole network of people who were willing to move slaves from one community to another.

In the early days, some slaves simply escaped to free states and set up residence in communities far from the slave state border. But a strict Fugitive Slave Act was passed by the United States Congress in 1850. This act enabled the master to reclaim his escaped slave from any free state in which he found the fugitive. As more and more masters sent agents northward with descriptions of their escaped slaves, fugitives began to realize their best chance for freedom lay across the border in Canada.

Freedmen's Colonies in Canada

Whole colonies of ex-slaves sprung up in Canada. One such colony, the Refugees' Home, near Windsor, Canada was organized by a former Kentucky slave, Henry Bibb. The company bought a large tract of land with contributions from anti-slavery groups in the United States. Each black family that settled at Refugees' Home received twenty-five acres of land. Five acres were given to the family without charge for

living on this land. They bought the other twenty acres for \$2.00 per acre in nine annual payments. The community established schools and churches and maintained a stock of supplies of immediate necessities for escaped fugitives.

How the News Spread

How did Kentucky slaves learn of the Underground Railroad? Soldiers returning from the War of 1812 probably brought the first news that Canada was a haven for escaped slaves because slavery had been abolished in England and all of her colonies. When the loss of slaves became more widespread, the owners themselves spread the news. By warning the slaves of the dreadful cold of Canadian winters and the hardships of a trip to that far border, they inadvertently were distributing information about that land.

Once he had made his way northward, the Kentucky fugitive often took work in a northern city, saved some money, and then returned to Kentucky to lead his wife or family to safety. One such person was a woman named Armstrong who escaped with her husband and one child to Canada in 1842. Two years later, she returned to Kentucky disguised as a man. Hiding near a spring, where her children were accustomed to get water, she was able to give instructions to five of them, and the following night they all left for an underground station at Ripley, Ohio. These returning slaves were a great source of information to others who dreamed of the possibility of escape but had not dared to try.

Probably the most typical pattern, however, was for a black man to flee across the river and contact a northern Black, trusting this contact for information as to routes further north. Unfortunately, some Ohio Blacks betrayed fugitives and sold the information of their whereabouts to pursuing masters.

Number of Escapees

No one knows exactly how many Kentucky slaves took the Underground Railroad to freedom. Since harboring an escaped slave was a federal offense, those who aided the slaves rarely kept records. Estimates vary widely. Senator Polk of Missouri in a speech before the Senate in 1861, estimated that

\$150 REWARD.
RANAWAY from the subscriber, on the night of Monday the 11th July, a negro man named
TOM,
about 30 years of age, 5 feet 6 or 7 inches high; of dark color; heavy in the chest; several of his jaw teeth out; and upon his body are several old marks of the whip, one of them straight down the back. He took with him a quantity of clothing, and several hats.
A reward of \$150 will be paid for his apprehension and security, if taken out of the State of Kentucky; \$100 if taken in any county bordering on the Ohio river; \$50 if taken in any of the interior counties except Fayette; or \$20 if taken in the latter county.
July 12-84-tf
B. L. BOSTON.

SOME MEN MADE A LIVING HUNTING FOR LOST SLAVES like Tom and returning them to their owners for the reward.

Kentucky lost \$200,000 annually in the form of escaped slaves. In 1850, Congressman Atchison of Kentucky claimed that her citizens lost slaves to the value of hundreds of thousands of dollars.

On the other hand, the U.S. Census reports that only 96 slaves escaped from their Kentucky masters in 1850 and only 119 slaves escaped in 1860.

One Quaker, Daniel Osborn of Alum Creek, Ohio, did keep a record of those fugitives passing through his neighborhood. A few pages of that record, from April 14 to September 10, 1844, have been preserved. In that length of time he listed forty-seven runaways—all but three of whom came from Kentucky. There were about fourteen initial stations leading to different trails north along the Ohio River similar to that at Alum Creek. If we assume that they each had about the same amount of traffic, we might estimate that about 600 slaves left Kentucky each summer. This estimate fits the testimony of another Ohio Quaker, Levi Coffin, often called the President of the Underground Railroad, who reported that for 33 years his home in Cincinnati received and aided over 100 escapees yearly.

Those Who Aided Escapees

Some Kentuckians, white and black, were willing to face possible imprisonment in order to aid fugitive slaves. John Mason, a fugitive slave from Kentucky, over a period of 19 months, escorted 265 other slaves to a northern Underground Railroad station run by a

black minister, the Reverend W.M. Mitchell. Mason was finally captured and sold south but within two years, he wrote Mitchell that he had again escaped and was living in Hamilton, Canada.

A Black named Elijah Anderson was described as the general superintendent of the Underground Railroad system in northwestern Ohio. He began his work before the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 and continued until he was arrested and confined in the state prison at Frankfort. He claimed to have piloted over 1000 fugitives to freedom.

Another Black who led others to freedom was Ben, a slave who escaped from his Kentucky master. According to an article in the *Louisville Democrat*, October 27, 1857, Ben kept helping his former master's slaves escape. His efforts in behalf of others finally led to his capture. Ben "fought with the desperation of a man who had once tasted the sweets of liberty" but those who captured him were too strong. He was overpowered and re-enslaved.

Wash Spradley, a black man living in Louisville helped the escape of many of his race. A directory of the names of Underground Railroad operators lists the Reverend John Grigg Fee, John S. Fee, and a man listed only as Jones.

Calvin Fairbanks was a white man who regularly helped Kentucky slaves across the Ohio River. In September, 1844, he and a young Vermont school-teacher, Miss D.A. Webster, who was teaching in Lexington, concealed three slaves—Lewis Hayden, his wife, and their ten year old boy—in a carriage and drove to an underground railroad depot in Hopkins, Ohio. When the two teachers returned to Lexington, they were arrested, tried, and convicted of helping a fugitive escape. Miss Webster was pardoned by the governor but Fairbanks served almost five years of a fifteen year sentence before he, too, was pardoned by Governor John J. Crittenden.

Less than two years later, he was again arrested for aiding the escape of Tamar, a young black woman belonging to A.L. Shotwell of Louisville. In 1853, he was again sentenced to a fifteen year term in the Kentucky state prison where he remained until he was pardoned by acting Governor Richard T. Jacob in 1864.

Calvin Fairbanks could take pride in the slaves he helped escape. Mr. Hayden became a respected citizen of Boston, and helped organize a vigilance committee to protect the refugees that were settling in the city. In time, Hayden served in the Massachusetts state legislature. His wife, who survived him, willed an estate of about five thousand dollars to Harvard University to provide scholarships for deserving black students.

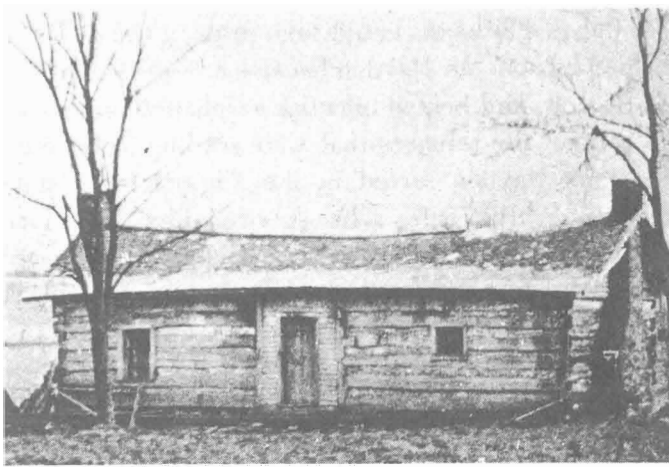
William Wells Brown

William Wells Brown was born in Lexington, Kentucky in 1814. His mother was a slave who told him his father was a white slave-owner. He escaped in 1834 to Ohio where he became active in the anti-slavery movement. In 1849, he was sent as an American representative to a Peace Congress in Paris. He remained abroad in England and France for the next five years.

To tell others of his life as a slave, he wrote the *Narrative of William W. Brown, a Fugitive Slave* in



WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, a fugitive slave from Kentucky, became the foremost black author of his day and a leading opponent of slavery.



SLAVE QUARTERS

1847. This early book demonstrated his ability as a writer. He wrote several more books and became the foremost black author of his day. Although he wrote both novels and plays, his most important books were histories such as *The Negro in the American Rebellion*, *His Heroism and His Fidelity*, published in 1867. This book has been reprinted and is available today.

Josiah Henson

Another Kentucky Black who chose freedom with his feet was Josiah Henson. Henson, his wife and

two children escaped to Canada where he learned to read and write. He returned to Kentucky many times to lead other fugitives to the north. In one two week period, he led thirty Kentucky escapees to Toledo, Ohio.

Henson often spoke at northern abolitionist meetings. After one such engagement in 1850, he was introduced to the sister of one of the Boston abolitionists, Edward Beecher. That sister was Harriet Beecher Stowe. Many people believe that when she wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Harriet Beecher Stowe used Josiah Henson as the model for Uncle Tom.

The Henson family became important citizens of Dresden, Canada where Josiah Henson helped to organize the British and American Manual Labor Institute for Negro children, one of the earliest industrial schools on the continent. When the Institute needed additional funds, Henson traveled to England where he raised \$1,000 for the project.

He also enlisted in the Canadian army, becoming the captain of the Second Company of the Essex Colored Volunteers. In the Canadian rebellion of 1837, Henson's company helped to defend Fort Malden from December, 1837 until May, 1838.

Summary of Chapter Five

The history of the slave escapes in Kentucky indicates that many black men and women were so discontented with slavery that they were willing to face the risk of journeying into the unknown rather than live under slavery. They escaped in many different ways by themselves and with assistance from many different people. Many of those who escaped returned to Kentucky to lead other members of their families and friends to freedom.

Among the famous slaves who escaped from Kentucky were: Henry Bibb, Lewis Hayden and his family, William Wells Brown, and Josiah Henson and his family. Among those who helped slaves escape were: John Mason, Elijah Anderson, Wash Spradley, John Grigg Fee, John S. Fee, Calvin Fairbanks, and Miss D.A. Webster.

Unit Two

The Civil War And Its Aftermath-- 1860-1890

The Civil War divided Kentucky as it did the nation. Some Kentucky sons joined the Union Army; others joined the Confederate Army. Both Presidents—Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis—were born in Kentucky.

Kentucky remained in the Union. However, since the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 abolished slavery only in the Confederate States, Kentucky also remained a slaveholding state. Kentucky Blacks both slave and free, enlisted in military units and fought bravely for the Union cause. Some Kentucky slaves were able to obtain freedom for themselves and their families under a federal law granting freedom to slaves enlisting in the Union Army.

One of the two states where slavery continued after the War, Kentucky resisted efforts to abolish the institution of slavery through legislative action. The Kentucky General Assembly also refused to ratify the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. When the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery throughout the United States became the law of the land in December, 1865, Kentucky slaveholders had to submit to this national law.

After the slaves were freed, the General Assembly passed many laws regarding the freedmen. In general, these laws simply gave the freedmen the same rights that white men had. However, two rights—the right to testify against white men in State courts and the right to serve on a jury—were denied Kentucky Blacks. Continuous pressure from black citizens and the determination of the federal government to allow Blacks to testify in Federal courts finally gained for Kentucky Blacks the right to testify and serve on juries in State courts.

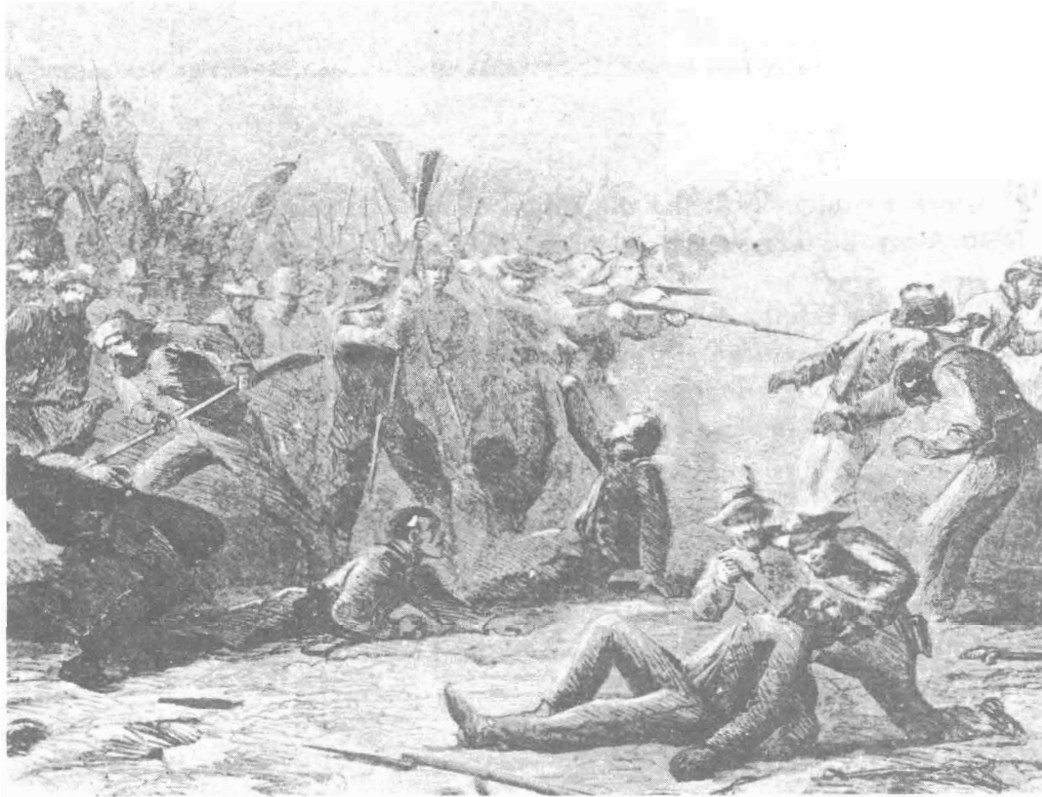
In the violent period following the Civil War, many Blacks were the victims of mob terrorism. While the State officially condemned such activities, authorities seemed unable to prevent the terroristic tactics. Many black families left isolated farms and moved to the relative security of the city during this period.

The Freedmen's Bureau in Kentucky gave advice and assistance to the newly freed Blacks. Both the Bureau and local communities opened schools for Blacks. Black students of all ages showed their hunger for learning by attending these schools in spite of great difficulties.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution stated clearly that Blacks were full citizens of the United States. The Fifteenth Amendment extended them the right to vote. Black citizens took this right seriously. They formed political organizations and cast their ballots with great dignity. Kentucky Blacks protested to the Governor, the General Assembly, and even to the United States Congress when their rights were threatened or abused.

Chapter Six

The Civil War



THE HORROR OF THE FORT PILLOW MASSACRE was illustrated by this sketch for *HARPER'S WEEKLY* magazine, April 30, 1864.

President Lincoln felt he must have Kentucky as a Union state in order to fight the Civil War. Let's look at a map of Kentucky and see if we can figure out why. From Kentucky, fighting forces could be sent down the Mississippi and up the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers to attack the Confederacy.

Lincoln waited until Kentucky had declared

herself a part of the Union to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. He knew that Kentucky slaveholders had power beyond their number in the Kentucky legislature. If he had issued the Emancipation Proclamation at the beginning of the war, the angered slaveholders might have swung the state into the Confederate camp.

The Emancipation Proclamation

The Emancipation Proclamation issued in 1863 declared that slaves in the Confederate states were free. However, since Kentucky was still part of the Union, the Emancipation Proclamation did not free Kentucky slaves.

Kentucky slaveholders were angry. They had accepted the Civil War as a war to save the union, not as a war to free the slaves. Slavery would continue in Kentucky, they vowed.

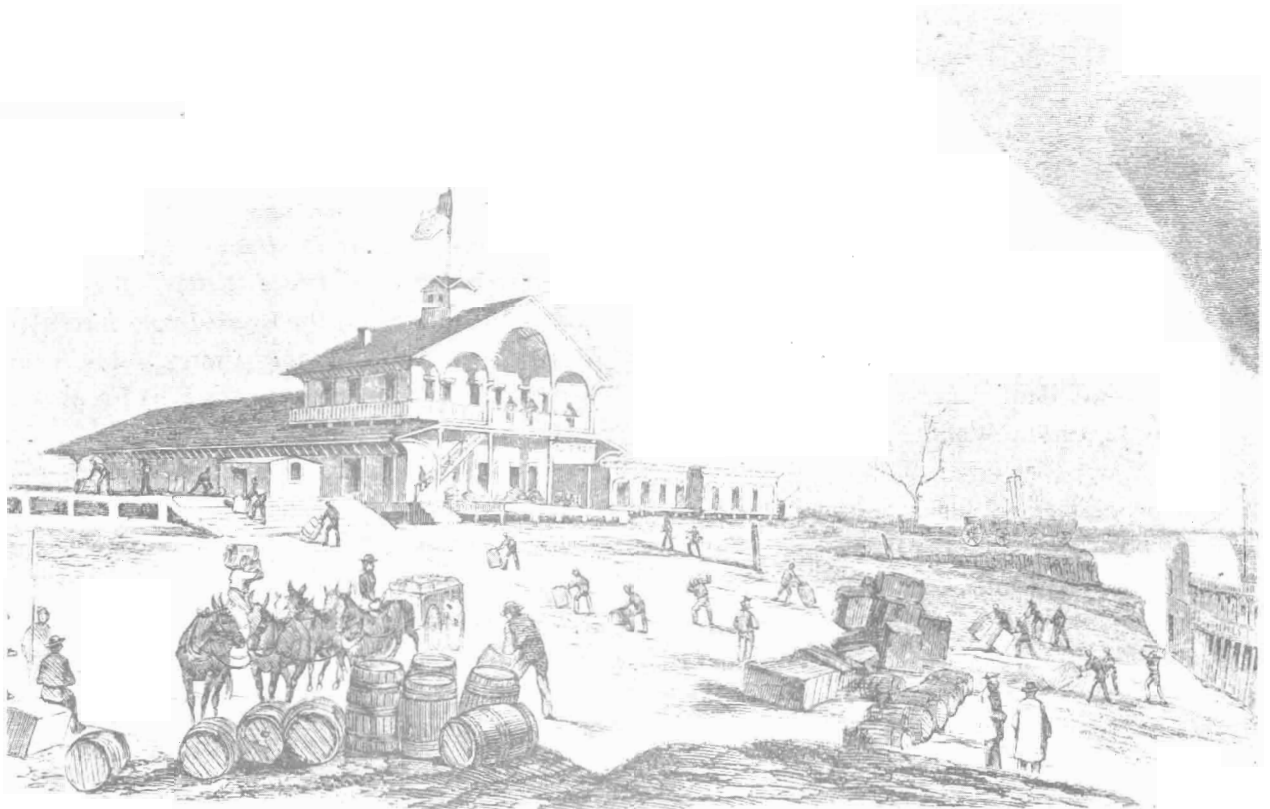
Blacks in the Union Army

The policy of Union Army commanders at the beginning of the war was to return to their masters fugitive slaves who fled to the army for protection. This policy was initiated so as not to offend

slaveholders in neutral border states. As the war progressed, many soldiers were killed and replacements were necessary. Commanders, desperate for troops, could not afford to reject the numbers of black men who wanted to have a part in the battle for their freedom.

At first, Blacks were used behind the lines—to dig trenches, haul supplies, rebuild damaged railroads—to do the heavy, dirty work and thereby free more soldiers to fight. In the heat of a battle, separating the laborers from the fighters became difficult, and many a black man took the rifle from a wounded comrade and thus became an “instant soldier.”

By 1864, Army policy had changed. Black troops were actively recruited by many states to fulfill their assigned quotas of men. Black soldiers were generally segregated in “Colored Regiments” commanded by white officers. Although Army policy by this time



EARLY IN THE CIVIL WAR, BLACKS WERE USED TO TRANSPORT SUPPLIES TO THE TROOPS. This 1862 picture shows supplies being unloaded and stored at General Grant's Grand Depot at Columbus, Kentucky.

called for equal pay for black soldiers, in practice, they generally received lower wages. One Massachusetts black regiment voted to serve without pay rather than to accept a pay scale that paid black soldiers less than white soldiers.

Kentucky Blacks Enlist

Black Kentuckians were eager to enlist in the Union Army; but state authorities made it very difficult for them to do so. Kentucky would not accept black recruits in state regiments.

However, recruiters from other states attempted to enlist Kentucky Blacks in their colored regiments. Criticizing these states for trying to find “shelter from duty behind the free Negro population of Kentucky,” Governor Bramlette vowed that Kentucky would rather fill her quotas with white men than enlist Blacks.¹

Rejected by the State regiments, black Kentuckians enlisted directly in Union Army regiments. They enlisted in amazing numbers. United States War Department statistics list 23,000 black volunteers from Kentucky. The final report of the Adjutant General of Kentucky in 1867 stated that 25,438 black soldiers from Kentucky had enlisted in fifteen infantry regiments, two cavalry regiments and four heavy artillery regiments. Comparing this number to the total black population of Kentucky in 1860 which was 236,137, we see that over 10 per cent of all Kentucky Blacks served in the Union Army. Using figures from the same sources for Kentucky’s white population, we find that 7 per cent of Kentucky whites served in the Union Army.

This high percentage of black volunteers is even more amazing when we remember that 95 per cent of Kentucky’s Blacks in 1860 were slaves and many slaves were prevented by their masters from enlisting. Some masters even sent their slaves, under guard, out of the state so that they would not be forced to serve in the army.

Slaves did use enlistment as a means of obtaining their freedom. In February, 1865, when Major General John M. Palmer became commander of the military district of Kentucky, he announced that he would use black enlistment as a means to free as

many Kentucky slaves as possible. A federal law provided that any slave who enlisted received his freedom and that of his wife and children. The General sent black soldiers dressed in their fanciest uniforms to black homes to attract recruits. Many Blacks did enlist at Palmer’s urging but when they returned to their masters to claim freedom for their wives and children, the masters refused to recognize the federal law and claimed the federal government had no right to confiscate the “property” of loyal citizens.

Despite these handicaps, black troops distinguished themselves valiantly on the field of battle. Casualty rates were higher for black than for white soldiers. Some Confederate units killed Blacks rather than take them prisoner. The most dreadful example of this policy happened at Fort Pillow, Tennessee, about sixty miles south of Kentucky on the Mississippi River.

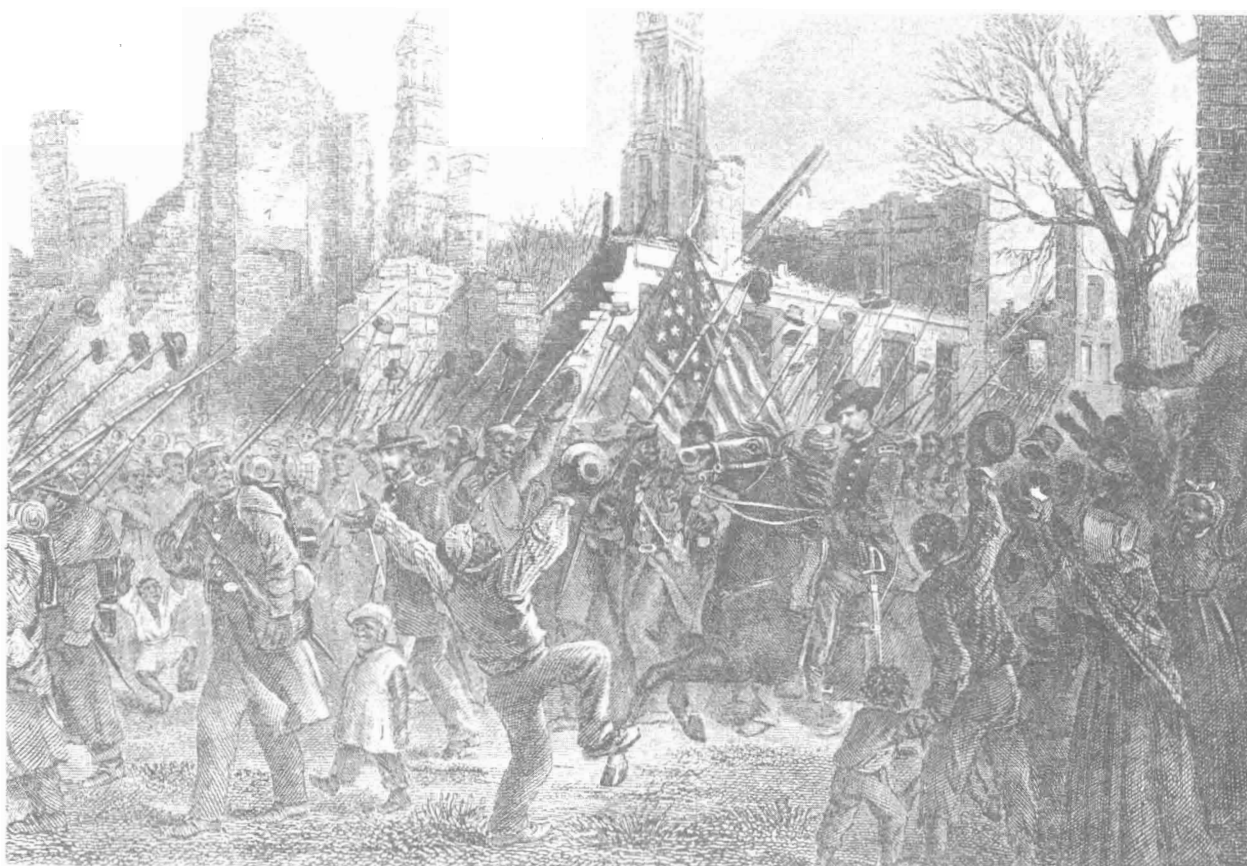
Fort Pillow Massacre

Fort Pillow was held by Union troops—about 200 white Tennessee volunteers and 400 black troops all under the command of Major Booth. On April 12, 1864, Confederate troops under the command of General N.B. Forrest attacked the Fort, killing Major Booth. After a fierce battle, the Union forces surrendered. Then the Confederate forces slaughtered large numbers of the Union soldiers and many citizens who had come to the Fort for protection.

An account of the massacre appearing in *Harper’s Weekly*, April 30, 1864 said, “Both white and black were bayoneted, shot, or sabred: even dead bodies were horribly mutilated, and children of seven and eight years, and several Negro women killed in cold blood.” Yet even the news of this terrible crime did not stop Kentucky Blacks from enlisting in the army.

Isaiah Cass

One young black soldier from Kentucky was Isaiah Cass. Cass worked in Woodford, Kentucky.



THE ENTRANCE OF THE FIFTY-FIFTH MASSACHUSETTS COLORED REGIMENT INTO CHARLESTON on February 21, 1865, is illustrated by this early news sketch.

Since there was no Kentucky Regiment which he could join, in May, 1863, he signed up to fight with the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry, possibly the most famous black fighting force in the Civil War.

As a member of Company C, he was sent to South Carolina. In April, 1865, Cass was wounded in a battle near Boykins Mills, South Carolina. He recovered and was discharged after the war in Beaufort, South Carolina.

After the War

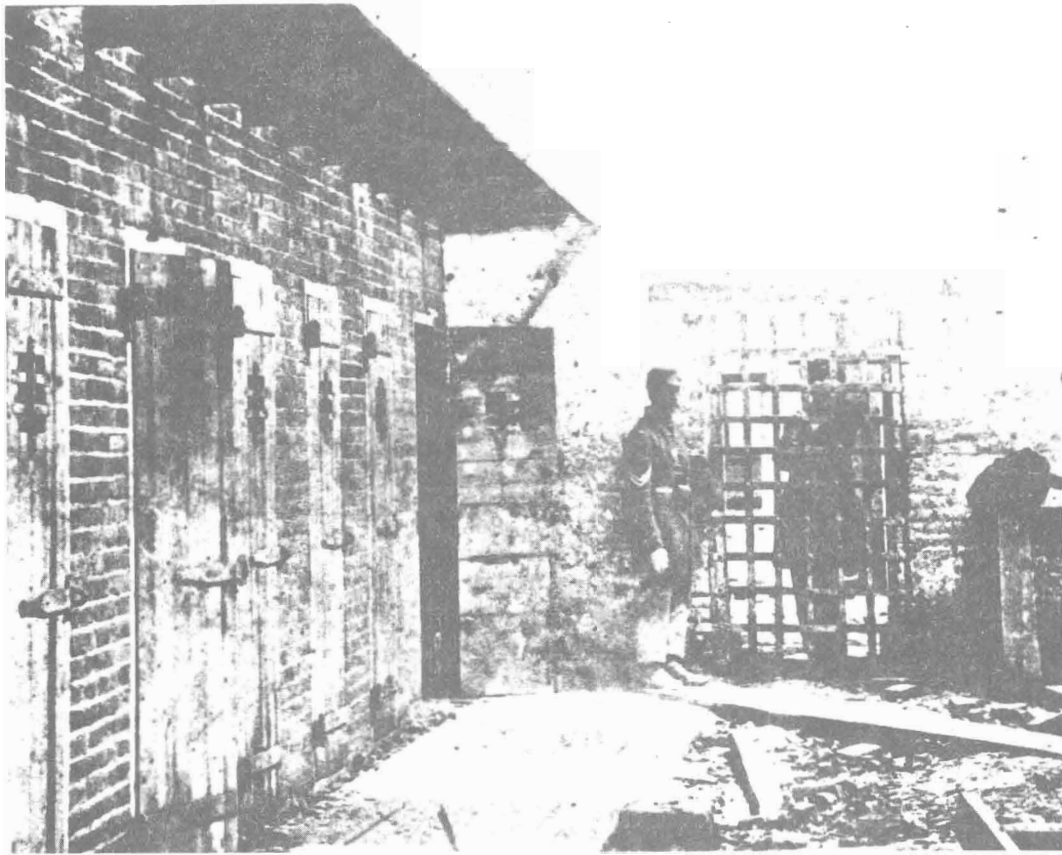
On April 9, 1865, Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Courthouse: the war was finally over. But the Kentucky slave was still not free.

Kentucky (with 200,000 slaves) and Delaware (with less than 2,000 slaves) were the two states in which slavery as an institution continued after the Civil War. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation had

freed all slaves in the states that had fought against the United States: but Kentucky had remained loyal to the U.S. and hence, Kentucky slaves were not included in that proclamation. Most of the other border states had abolished slavery through legislative action or constitutional amendments by the time the war had ended; but Kentucky slaveholders clung to the institution of slavery.

In both 1864 and 1865, bills to abolish slavery came before the General Assembly. Both years the abolition bills were defeated. Governor Thomas E. Bramlette, Kentucky's wartime governor, urged that Kentucky legislators abolish slavery and, at the same time, demand that the federal government pay the slaveholders for the slaves they lost. Even this program of compensated emancipation was rejected by the legislators.

In January, 1865, a few months before the end of the Civil War, the United States Congress passed the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. It provided:



CIVIL WAR SLAVE PENS

“Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States; or any place subject to their jurisdiction.”

This amendment had to be ratified by two-thirds of the states before it became law. In February, 1865, when the amendment was presented to the Kentucky General Assembly, the lawmakers refused ratification by a vote of 21 to 13 in the Senate and 56 to 28 in the House. Many other states, however, did ratify the amendment. On December 18, 1865, the Secretary of State announced that the necessary number of states had ratified the Thirteenth Amendment. Kentucky's slaves were free at last.

Although freedom for Blacks was finally official, both traditional discrimination and new legal restrictions reminded the black man that most whites did not acknowledge his status as a first class citizen.

For example, after 1866, black soldiers were excluded from serving in the regular Army by a

Congressional Act which authorized the formation of four regiments for black enlisted men—the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry and the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry.²

Sergeant Brent Woods

During the Indian campaigns, (1866-1891) soldiers in these black regiments demonstrated patriotism and courage. Of the 419 Congressional Medals of Honor awarded for bravery during the Indian Campaigns, thirteen were earned by black soldiers. Among these thirteen black heroes honored by Congress was Kentucky's only black recipient of the Medal of Honor, Sergeant Brent Woods of Pulaski County.

In 1894, Sergeant Woods was awarded the Medal of Honor for saving the lives of his comrades and a group of white civilians during a skirmish with Apaches in 1881. Sergeant Woods, left in charge of company B of the Ninth Cavalry, rallied the 17 black cavalymen under his command and led the civilians to safety. Fighting his way to a high ridge, he

conducted a one-man war on the Indians. After being wounded in the arm, Sergeant Woods still held his ground and continued his attack until the Indians mounted their horses and retreated.

Describing Sergeant Woods' performance, one of the white cowboys saved by the Sergeant's actions said, "If it had not been for him none of us would have come out of that canyon."³

Summary of Chapter Six

An important element in President Lincoln's early Civil War strategy was his desire to keep Kentucky and the other Border States in the Union. Kentucky continued as a slave state throughout the war. This had two important effects: (1) the State would not enlist black troops, and (2) many slaveholders kept their slaves out of the army.

In spite of these difficulties, ten per cent of Kentucky's black population enlisted in the Union Army. This number is especially high considering the fact that Blacks were actively recruited only during the last two years of the war.

Kentucky was one of only two states where

slavery continued after the Civil War. The Kentucky legislature refused to abolish slavery. Kentucky black soldiers who had fought for freedom for all Blacks had to wait eight months after the end of the war before they saw slavery finally abolished by the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Black soldiers who wanted to continue in military service were transferred into the segregated units created by a Congressional Act. Sergeant Brent Woods of Pulaski County who served in the segregated Ninth Cavalry during the Indian Campaigns, became the first black Kentuckian to receive the Congressional Medal of Honor.

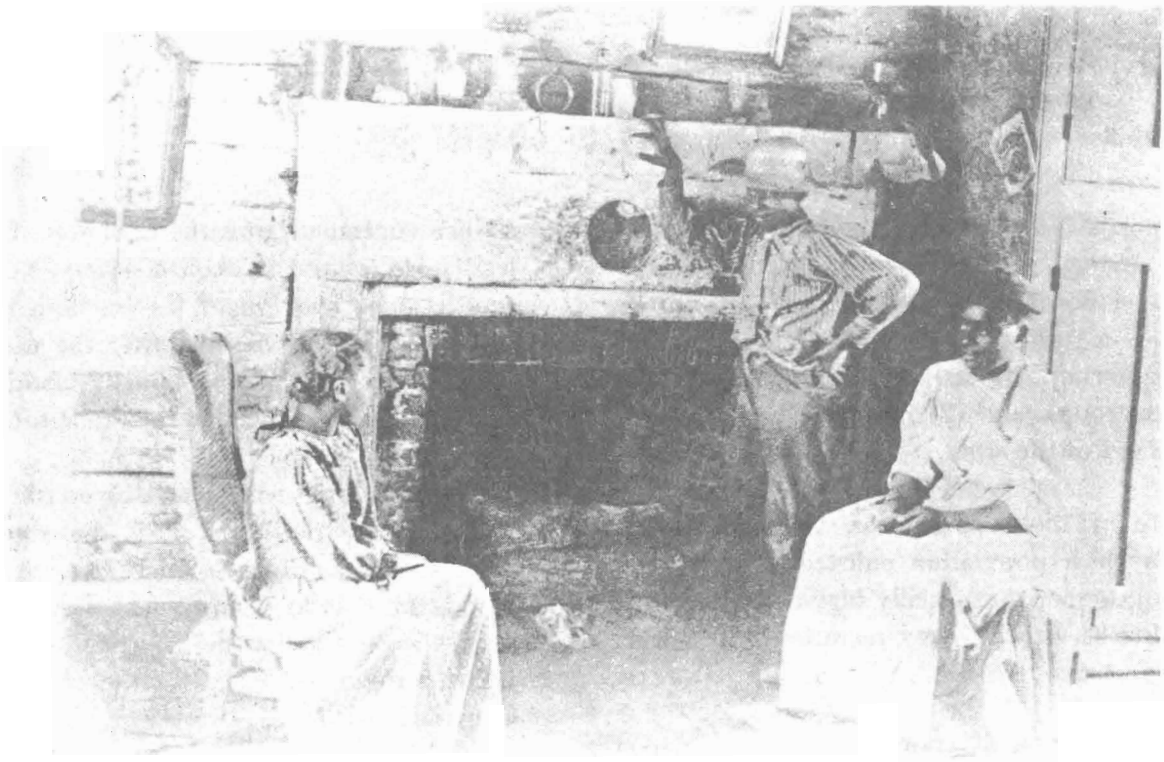
¹Thomas E. Bramlette, letter from Governor Bramlette to Captain Cahill dated December 14, 1863 in Governor's *Letter Book*, January 1864, Quoted in the W.P.A. writers project, *Military History of Kentucky*, Military History of Kentucky (Frankfort, Kentucky: State Journal, 1939), p. 204

²Irvin H. Lee, *Negro Medal of Honor Men* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1967), p. 57

³*Ibid.*, p. 77.

Chapter Seven

The Freedmen



MANY FREEDMEN CONTINUED TO LIVE IN THE SAME QUARTERS THEY HAD OCCUPIED BEFORE THE WAR. This rare picture, taken in 1868, shows freedmen living in the former slave quarters.

Try to imagine being a Kentucky slave in December, 1865. On December 17, you were the property of your master. You did what he told you to do, lived on his land, and were provided with clothing and food by that master.

On December 18, you were free. You could travel anywhere in the State or out of the State. You could choose the kind of work you would like to do. You could find members of your family who had been separated from you and live with them. You could buy your own farm and raise your own crops and profit from your own labor. Imagine the plans and hopes and dreams that were in the minds of Kentucky's 200,000 freed slaves on that joyous December day.

The realities of the situation were less joyous, however. Few slaves had any money. Some had only one change of clothing. The places where they lived belonged to their former masters. In order to continue to live there, the freedmen would have to arrange a contract with the former master. Perhaps the freedman would work for the former master a certain number of hours to pay for the use of the cabin. Bargaining with a former master who felt that he had just lost several thousand dollars worth of valuable "property" was not easy.

Many ex-slaves could not read or write or, at best, just barely. The rights of citizenship which legally belonged to all black men were not recognized by many white men who persisted in thinking of the freedmen as property.

The Freedmen's Bureau

To help the ex-slave deal with the many problems that confronted him, the United States government established the Freedmen's Bureau. Bureau offices were established in several Kentucky cities. Emergency food and clothing supplies were distributed. Schools for freedmen were established in several Kentucky towns by the Bureau. Officers of the Bureau gave the newly freed Blacks advice on their rights as citizens.

Many Kentucky citizens who had owned slaves resented what they called the "interference" of the Freedmen's Bureau. Jefferson C. Davis, who became Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau in charge of Kentucky in 1866, also assumed command of the United States military forces within the State. Ex-slaveholders saw this development as an attempt to enforce federal government rulings upon the state's population with the power of United States troops. They called upon the Kentucky legislature to draft state laws regarding the freedmen so that the federal troops would be removed.

Rights for Freedmen

The 1866 Kentucky General Assembly passed several laws concerning the newly freed Blacks. In most cases, black citizens were given the same rights white citizens held.



GENERAL OLIVER O. HOWARD, national director of the Freedmen's Bureau, visited Berea in 1898. In the picture above, General Howard is indicated by the arrow.

Marriage

A marriage law was passed. All the former slaves who had not been able to be legally married were now given that right. Those who had been married as slaves could register that marriage in order to make it legally binding. Married couples (and single freedmen) could hold property and their children could inherit that property.

Apprenticeship

In Kentucky, many young slaves, boys and girls just into their teens or younger, had been sold away from their parents. Once freed there was no one legally responsible for them. The General Assembly provided that these young people could be apprenticed to craftsmen who would agree to teach the apprentice a trade and supply his food, clothing, and lodging.

The apprenticeship period lasted only until a boy was twenty-one or a girl was eighteen. The supervisor could either teach the former slave to read and write and do simple arithmetic or else pay him \$100 at the end of the apprenticeship period. If there was a relative who was willing to assume responsibility for the child, Kentucky courts consistently held that the relative, rather than a former master, would be the child's guardian.

Working Agreements

Many freedmen simply stayed with their former masters and received a nominal wage. The General Assembly provided that Blacks could make contracts with white persons and that the same legal provision would apply to both races. Many contracts were made on a yearly basis—the former slave would work for an employer for one year for a specified wage.

In rural areas, the share-cropping system developed: the freedman worked land held by his former master with tools and seed which were furnished in return for a share of the crop. In many areas, Freedmen's Bureau representatives examined the contract which the black man made in order to protect his interests; but white employers resented

this interference and often refused to contract with any Black who involved the Freedmen's Bureau. So very often, the black man remained under the economic control of his former master.

Rights Denied Black Men

Although Kentucky black citizens were free, three important rights were still not theirs: the right to testify in Kentucky courts against white persons, the right to serve on juries, and the right to vote.

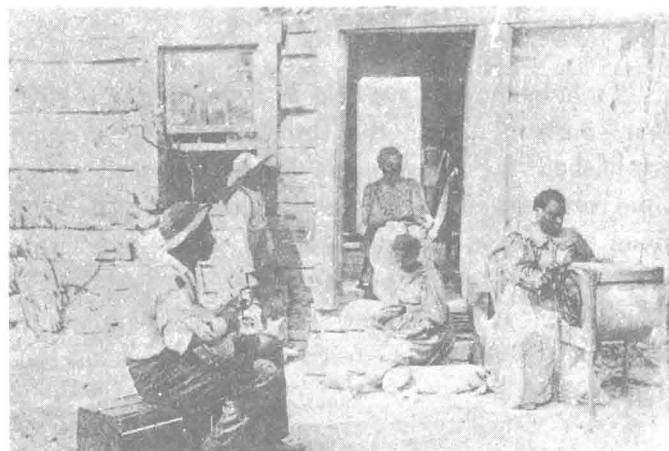
Obtaining Testimony Rights

The Kentucky legislature in 1866, granted the black man the right to sue a white person by affidavit—that is, the black person could present a written statement charging the white man of a crime against him. However, the black person could not take the stand and actually testify against the white man.

On the other hand, the United States government, in the 1866 Civil Rights Act, provided that Blacks did have the right to testify against white men in court. Since the Kentucky law did not allow Blacks to testify in Kentucky courts, cases involving Blacks were transferred to the United States District Courts where Blacks could testify.

In the confusing period that followed, Blacks and whites felt the inconvenience of such a system. The U.S. District Court was in Louisville. If cases had to be tried there, a long trip from another county was often involved. Lawyers familiar with federal court proceedings had to be hired at additional expense. Sometimes a Black's testimony was necessary to a white man's case. A Black, for example, saw and could identify the white man who robbed a bank. And yet, under Kentucky law, his testimony could not be heard in Kentucky courts.

Black leaders protested this inequity. Petitions were sent to the United States Congress in June, 1867, by black Kentuckians complaining that they "were denied redress in courts for crimes committed against them because they had not the right to testify to the court."¹ Convening in Lexington in November, 1867, the Negro Republican Party adopted a resolu-



EMANCIPATION DID NOT IMPROVE THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF MOST KENTUCKY FREEDMEN. In rural areas, some former slaves became sharecroppers. In urban areas, some freedmen worked as servants for their former masters.

tion which requested the right to testify in all courts of the Commonwealth. When a bill granting Blacks the right to testify failed to pass the Kentucky Senate in 1871, a group of black citizens of Fayette County formed the Fayette County Justice Association to aid black people to get their cases to federal courts where they would get a fair hearing.

Gradually three different groups began to favor black testimony in Kentucky courts for very different reasons:

(1) One group, including most black and some white citizens, favored black testimony because they felt that all citizens, regardless of color, were entitled to this right.

(2) Another group, made up mostly of lawyers and judges, favored it because the process of transferring all cases involving Blacks to federal courts was so inconvenient and expensive.

(3) A third group consisted of white racists who felt that they could "control" the Blacks better in local courts with local judges and juries.

Together these groups produced enough votes to pass a black testimony bill. In January, 1872, the Kentucky General Assembly granted black men the right to testify in Kentucky courts in cases involving white men.

One year earlier, in 1871, two black lawyers, George A. Griffiths and Nathaniel Harper, were



WILLIAM H. STEWARD was appointed a letter carrier in the Louisville post office, becoming the first black man in the State to hold such a position in 1876. In 1882, Steward was elected by his co-workers, mostly white men, to be their representative at the National Letter Carriers Association.

admitted to practice law in the courts in Louisville. The right to serve on a jury came later. Not until 1882 did the Kentucky General Assembly pass a law enabling black men to serve on juries.

The Foster Family

The reason that testimony rights for Blacks were so important becomes very apparent in the tragic

story of the Foster Family. On August 29, 1868, in Lewis County, two young white men, George Blyew and John Kannard, rode up to the cabin of a black man named Jack Foster. These men overpowered and killed Foster, his wife, and her mother, a poor old woman who was totally blind. Hidden inside the cabin was a thirteen year old daughter who saw this awful sight. She recognized and could identify the two men.

Kentucky authorities caught the young men but since the witness was black, she could not testify against them in Kentucky courts. So the case had to be transferred to federal courts. But federal courts couldn't try a murder case so the men were tried for violating the civil rights of the black family.

The case, *Blyew v. United States*, eventually was appealed to the United States Supreme Court. It was an important test case for it was the Supreme Court's first ruling on the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1866. The Court decided upon a narrow interpretation of the Act. In 1872, for very technical reasons, the Supreme Court decided that the case could not be tried in federal courts.

By that year, Kentucky had passed the black testimony law, so Blyew and Kennard could be tried in Kentucky courts. Otherwise, after the Supreme Court's ruling, there would have been no courts in Kentucky which any murder case where a Black was the only witness against a white person could be tried.

Summary of Chapter Seven

Freedom brought great joy to Kentucky Blacks. Freedom also posed many problems. How could the freedmen get food? Where would they live? For whom would they work? How much would they be paid? In the first years of freedom, the Freedmen's Bureau helped Kentucky ex-slaves resolve some of these problems.

Although the 1866 legislature, in general, made Blacks subject to the same laws that already applied to white citizens, three specific rights—to serve on juries, to testify against white men in state courts, and to vote—were denied black Kentuckians. The right to testify was finally won in 1871; the right to serve on juries was obtained in 1882. The right to vote will be discussed in Chapter Nine.

¹*Lexington Observer and Reporter*, June 29, 1867, cited by Cyrus Baldwin King, "Ante-Bellum Free Negroes as Race Leaders in Kentucky and Virginia during Reconstruction," (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of History, University of Kentucky, 1949), p. 37

Chapter Eight

Education After the Civil War



IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CIVIL WAR, JOHN G. FEE RE-ESTABLISHED HIS SCHOOL AT BERE A, which was the first Kentucky school to enroll both black and white students. This picture of white and black Berea students was taken about 1887.

Imagine the educational problems that had to be faced when the Thirteenth Amendment freed 200,000 slaves in Kentucky. Black men and women of all ages, many of whom were totally dependent on their masters for food and clothing, now were on their own. Most of the freedmen could not read or write; many had been separated from all other members of their families who might otherwise have

furnished some sort of advice and counsel.

For years, the slave had been taught to serve his master without question. To teach this former slave that he was now a free man, with certain rights guaranteed him by the very legal system that only a year before had held him in bondage, was a gigantic task.

Early Schools for Freedmen

Among the first to begin this task were private church and benevolent groups. In Louisville, in 1865, for example, two churches—St. Mark's Episcopal Church on Green Street and the Jackson Street Methodist Episcopal Church opened schools for Blacks. The following year, William H. Gibson reopened a school for Blacks that he had begun in 1848 at Quinn Chapel AME Church. In 1868, St. Mark's High School for Negroes was incorporated. The next year, the Roman Catholic Church established St. Augustine's Church and School for Negroes, taught by the Sisters of Charity.

The Freedmen's Bureau reported 15 schools in operation in Kentucky in 1866. By 1869, this number had grown to 354 day and night schools with 377 teachers serving 15,022 pupils: 170 Sunday schools with 993 teachers serving 11,244 pupils; and 4 high schools with a total of 912 pupils. These were mostly one-room, one-teacher schools that operated only about three months of the year.

Public Schools

The black man's eager desire for education was one factor that helped speed the development of a public school system for all Kentucky's children. Before the Civil War, Kentucky did not have an effective system of public schools for white children. After the war, the freed Blacks were eager for an education. Many Blacks were willing to work all day and then attend school in the evening. Others walked long distances in order to attend a Freedmen's Bureau school. Seeing the black man's desire for education, state authorities began to work on a system of public schools for all Kentucky children.

At first, the black schools were under separate provisions. The first black education bill was passed immediately after the war in 1866, but its provisions for financing and building black schools were so vague that very few schools were established. Schools for white children were also suffering under the same kind of administrative and financial difficulties.

Not until 1874 was a comprehensive public school system for black children established by law. Funds for these schools were provided by taxes on

property held by Blacks (even their dog license fees went into this fund), fines or penalties collected from Blacks, and any federal school funds which might be made available for black education.

The county school commissioner was to appoint school trustees who were empowered to erect school houses, employ teachers, and contact black students. Black schools in the country had to be at least one mile from schools for white children; in the city, schools for the two races had to be separated by at least six hundred feet.

An 1883 act of the General Assembly combined the black and white school funds into one fund which was to be distributed with no distinction on account of race. This provision was written into the state constitution in 1891. The constitution, also clearly states that white and black children should attend separate schools.

After the passage of the 1883 act, many districts that had not already done so established schools for black children.

Most black schools had buildings and equipment that were inferior to those provided for white schools. Black teachers' salaries were lower than those of white teachers. The one-room, many graded schoolhouse was common for black students.

Regardless of these inequalities, Kentucky black students attended school in ever-increasing numbers. How effective these schools were can be seen in the reports of the United States Census. In 1890, fifty-six per cent of Kentucky's black population could not read and write; by 1910, only twenty-eight per cent could not read and write.

Higher Education

In order to train teachers for the black schools, the Kentucky legislature, in 1886, established the State Normal School for Colored Persons at Frankfort. This was the first state-supported institution of higher education for Blacks. It began as a combined school, including elementary, secondary, and what we would call today, junior college students.

Since this school received its financial support from the state legislature every two years, the President of the school had to present requests for

funds to the legislature's budget committee. With no Blacks in the General Assembly, there were no legislators to aggressively defend appropriations to a black college. So the school's budget requests were often cut.

In 1890, the United States Congress amended the Morrill Act to provide land grant funds specifically to black colleges that taught agriculture and industrial arts. Anxious to take advantage of these available funds, the General Assembly, in 1892, provided that a department of agriculture and mechanic arts be added to the State Normal School curriculum.

Kentucky State College

The School was now known as Kentucky State Normal and Industrial Institute. (The name of the school was changed many times: for simplicity, henceforth, it will be referred to as Kentucky State College.) Tuition was free to any resident of the state, but students who entered the teacher training course were asked to sign a pledge that they would teach in Kentucky schools for a period of twice the number of years spent at the college.



JOHN H. JACKSON

The early presidents of the college—John H. Jackson, James E. Givins, James S. Hathaway, Green P. Russell, and Francis M. Woods worked under discouraging conditions. When Jackson first arrived at the college, there were 55 students doing elementary work. His first task was to raise the academic level. Buildings had to be built with meager state-provided funds.

One additional problem was that the President of Kentucky State College was appointed by a Board named by the Governor. So when a new Governor was elected, he often selected a new Board which appointed a new President. Since there were very few jobs in the state to which Blacks could be appointed, the Presidency of Kentucky State was often used to reward a loyal black politician who had campaigned hard for the man who was elected Governor.

In 1929, Dr. Rufus B. Atwood was appointed President of Kentucky State. Convinced that the President of a college should not be involved in partisan politics, Dr. Atwood refused to campaign for any candidate for Governor. This refusal, plus his very obvious capability, won him support from both Democratic and Republican Governors. He remained as president for over thirty years.

An able school administrator, Dr. Atwood revised the curriculum and improved the physical plant. Although he was amazingly adept at finding new sources for funds, he still faced shortages. Faculty salaries, for example, were low. In 1932, Dr. Atwood hired Henry Arthur Kean as football coach.

“Henry Arthur Kean became to Kentucky State and the Negro in general, what Knute Rockne was to Notre Dame and the Catholics. He loved the game of football, and he knew how to get the best out of the boys who were playing the game, too,” stated Dr. Atwood. The Kentucky State College team dominated black football for the next ten years. They were National Negro champions four times and Midwestern Athletic Association champions for ten straight years. But in 1943, Tennessee State College offered Kean a salary of \$10,000. Since he was making only \$3,300 at Kentucky State, Kean could not afford to pass up this offer. And Kentucky State lost one of its most beloved faculty members.

Although the college had offered a four year program for several years, not until 1931 was



HENRY ARTHUR KEAN

Kentucky State accredited as a four year college by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. At this time (the first year the Association began accrediting black colleges) it was given a "B" rating, which meant that all four years were acceptable but a few shortages existed. In 1939, Kentucky received an "A" rating.

In the early 1950's Kentucky State desegregated by accepting white students. Today the school is open to all—Black and white. Whites comprise 30% of the student body and 30% of the faculty members. The college attracts state employees and Frankfort teachers through summer and Saturday classes in business secretarial skills, and education. Kentucky State's library has developed a fine collection of Afro-American materials. A Black Studies Institute held on campus in the summer of 1970 attracted students from many parts of the United States.

Berea College

After the Civil War, close on the heels of Confederate troops retreating from the Lexington area came the abolitionist educator, John G. Fee. Re-establishing the school which he had founded in 1855 in Berea, Kentucky, he opened its door to Black as well as white students. Thus, in 1866, Berea became the first Kentucky school with both black and white students. The first catalogue listed 187 students, of whom 96 were Blacks.

This early school was what we would call today a high school. In 1869, a college department was added. By 1881, 280 black and 122 white students attended Berea which was to remain for many years one of two interracial colleges in the South.

Receiving some financial support from the American Missionary Association, Berea especially aimed to educate the needy and deserving students. One of America's most famous black historians, Carter G. Woodson, attended Berea. A 1892 graduate of Berea was James Bond, the first director of the Kentucky Commission on Interracial Cooperation. He arrived at the school leading a calf to pay his entrance fees. The grandson of James Bond is Julian Bond, a Legislator in the Georgia General Assembly.

A Kentucky law passed in 1904 which will be discussed in a later chapter forced Berea to end its interracial admissions policy and the school was closed to black students until 1950.

Simmons University

In 1879, the General Association of Colored Baptists in Kentucky opened a school which ultimately became known as Simmons University. This Louisville school included both high school and college courses and, eventually, post-graduate work in law, medicine, music and theology. First director of the school was Elijah P. Marrs, an ex-slave from Shelby County who had been taught to read by his master.

Dr. W. J. Simmons became President of the college in 1880. Under his direction, the college became an important institution of higher education for Kentucky Blacks. After his retirement, the school was named Simmons University in his honor.

Among the members of the first class to be graduated from the college department in 1886 was Dr. C.H. Parrish, who became President of the university in 1916 and served until 1930.

In 1931, the property at Seventh and Zane Avenue on which the college was located was sold to the University of Louisville for the establishment of Louisville Municipal College. The Municipal College assumed the role Simmons had played as the principal institution of higher education for Blacks in the City



WILLIAM J. SIMMONS

of Louisville, and Simmons continued principally as a theological training school.

Louisville Municipal College

A political agreement led to the development of Louisville Municipal College. In 1920, a bond issue to provide \$1,000,000 for expansion of the University of Louisville was before the voters. Black taxpayers demanded some assurance that a provision would be made for the higher education of Louisville Blacks. A committee including outstanding black leaders such as A.E. Meyzeek, Wilson Lovett, William Warley, J.A.C. Lattimore, and Bishop George C. Clement asked the University of Louisville Board of Trustees to announce that some of the bond funds would be used for black education. Receiving no such assurances from the Board, the black leaders led a campaign against the bond issue which was defeated.

A second bond issue was prepared in 1925. This time the Board made specific promises to include a college for Blacks in the proposal. With the enthusiastic support of black leaders, the bond issue passed. Louisville Municipal College enrolled its first class of 83 students on February 9, 1931, becoming the third

municipally supported liberal arts college for Blacks to be established in the United States.

During its second year of operation, the college was accredited as a standard four year college by the University of Kentucky. Eventually the institution offered evening classes and summer school with work leading to BS and BA Degrees. The Municipal College continued until 1951 when the University of Louisville opened all its divisions to black students.

Normal Schools

In order to train black teachers, three normal schools were founded—one in Lexington, Western Kentucky Normal School at Paducah, and Eckstein Norton Institute just outside Louisville.

These were short lived institutions. Eckstein Norton closed when Lincoln Institute was established. The school in Paducah became Western Kentucky Industrial College in 1929. In 1938, the program was transferred to Kentucky State at Frankfort. After that time the buildings were used by the Western Kentucky Vocational School to provide vocational training such as carpentry, barbering, and tailoring.



JAMES BOND, with his wife and two sons.



DR. CLARENCE TIMBERLAKE, a president of the West Kentucky Vocational College in Paducah from 1948 to 1957, has been called the "Father of Industrial Education" in Kentucky. In 1926, Dr. Timberlake sponsored the first bill appropriating funds for vocational education. He also established the first Federal Loan Organization in Kentucky to help black farmers in Western Kentucky.

In 1949, Dr. Timberlake was appointed to the State Textbook Commission. As the first black member of this Commission, he succeeded in the adoption of a black history text to supplement U.S. histories used in Kentucky schools.

While working for the adoption of black history texts for Kentucky's schools, Dr. Timberlake emphasized that "It is exceedingly bad for the white child as well as the Negro child when books are written with such prejudice that he is deprived of knowing the part played by all people in the development of our present culture."

Summary of Chapter Eight

Earliest schools for Blacks after the Civil War were established by private religious groups and the Freedmen's Bureau.

By 1883, a workable plan for public schools for all Kentucky children had been established. Many local communities established public schools for black children even prior to that date. Usually, however, these schools were inferior to the schools established for white children.

The first institution to provide higher education for black students was Berea which opened its college department in 1869. In 1879, Simmons University

opened and in 1886, Kentucky State College became the first state-supported institution of higher education for Blacks in Kentucky. One of the earliest municipally supported colleges for Blacks in the United States was Louisville Municipal College which opened in 1931.

From 1869 until 1904, Kentucky's Berea was the only integrated institution of higher learning in the state and one of the two integrated colleges in the entire South. Even Berea bowed to segregationist pressure in 1904 when the Day Law outlawed integrated education in Kentucky.

Chapter Nine

Black Citizens



THE REVEREND S. E. SMITH of Owensboro served as a delagate to three consecutive National Republican Conventions, beginning in 1884.

Kentucky black citizens were not hesitant about asserting the rights they had won in the Civil War. Blacks formed a number of political organizations

directly after the war to press for progress for black citizens.

Republican Party

Abraham Lincoln was a Republican as were the Congressional leaders who pressed for passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. So most black Kentuckians pledged their political allegiance to the Republican Party.

Even before they were able to vote, black Kentuckians organized a Negro Republican Party. This group held its first Convention in Lexington in November, 1867.

William F. Butler of Jefferson County was chosen President; Henry King, Gabriel Burdette, C. Clarke, Eliah Greene and E. Red, Vice Presidents; R.T.W. James of Frankfort, Secretary; Henry Scroggins of Lexington, Corresponding Secretary; and Bartlett Taylor, Treasurer.

In his opening address, Butler stated: "First we have the cartridge box, now we want the ballot box, and soon we will get the jury box. As we go boxing our way along. I don't mean with our fists, but by standing up and demanding our rights. We went out and fought the battles of our country, and gained our liberties, but we were left without means of protecting ourselves in the employment of that liberty. We need and must have the ballot box for that purpose. I stand here for universal suffrage for rebels as well as black men. I'm not afraid of rebels voting if you give us the same weapon of dissent."¹

This convention adopted resolutions requesting the right to testify in state courts, the right of suffrage, and the right to receive fair treatment and decent accommodations on all common carriers. The convention also asked that the Freedmen's Bureau remain in Kentucky until the state passed laws that could sufficiently protect the freedmen.

When the Republican State Convention met in Frankfort in March, 1868, Blacks tried unsuccessfully to be seated on the floor of the convention. But in March, 1872, after the Fifteenth Amendment granted Blacks the right to vote, black delegates were seated on the floor of the Republican State Convention.

The Right to Vote

The right to vote was granted to Kentucky's black citizens in 1870 by the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. This amendment stated that the right to vote could not be denied or abridged on account of race or color. When it was presented to the Kentucky General Assembly for ratification, it was rejected by the House 80 to 5 and by the Senate 27 to 6.

Once this amendment became the law of the land, the state of Kentucky took no further actions to prevent Blacks from voting. Business and industrial leaders were agitating for an end to the hostilities and unsettled condition that had prevailed since the beginning of the Civil War. A return to a more stable atmosphere was needed for the development and expansion of commerce and industry. To oppose the federal government on the issue of black suffrage would simply prolong the unsettled conditions and engage the state in another struggle it had little hope of winning.



J. ALLEN ROSS OF FRANKFORT was the secretary of the National Negro Democratic Executive Committee and served as State organizer for the Democratic Party in Kentucky. Before becoming involved in politics in his native state, Ross lived in Mississippi where he had been elected sheriff of Washington County and a State Legislator on the Republican ticket.

Democrats Controlled Kentucky

In Kentucky, in 1870, the Democratic Party was in control. Governor Stevenson was a Democrat. The majority of members of the General Assembly were Democrats.

These Democrats did not try to keep Blacks from voting because they did not think there were enough black voters to change the election results. In 1868, Governor Stevenson won with 114,412 votes over R.T. Baker's 25,734 votes. He had a majority of 88,678 votes. Even if all Kentucky's 35,000 black voters voted Republican, the Democrats could carry the state by at least 45,000 votes. So on a state-wide basis, Blacks in Kentucky were not prevented from voting as were some Blacks in states farther south.

Local Attempts to Restrict Black Voting

In some Kentucky counties and some cities, however, Blacks made up as much as forty per cent of the population. In these areas, the black vote combined with the votes of the white Republicans could elect candidates. For this reason there were some local and county-wide efforts to restrict the black man's right to vote in those counties with a sizeable black population.

Many cities amended their charters in 1871 to require payment of a poll tax before voting.

Since the Fifteenth Amendment would not take effect until March 30, 1870, Lexington moved the elections for city-wide offices to February, 1870 and lengthened the term of office to three years, thus providing the city with a three-year respite from the inevitable black vote. Paris and Nicholasville amended their city charters, leaving the black areas outside the city limits.

In Danville, city regulations provided that anyone owning property in the city could vote in city elections. After trying unsuccessfully to have bank stock or cemetery lots classified as property that would entitle one to vote, a clever group of Democrats bought a lot and divided it into ribbon strips four inches wide. These were sold to Democrats in

the surrounding county, keeping the bills of sale secret until election day. Republicans complained bitterly of fraud but to no avail.

The following year the city charter was amended to classify cemetery lots as property and to provide that only those who had owned property in the city for at least three years could vote. The outcry against this fraud was so loud, however, that the following month, March, 1871, the General Assembly amended the charter again to provide a twelve-month residential requirement instead of the previous three-year's requirement.

Such maneuvers to exclude black voters were confined to a relatively few communities. Most Kentucky communities accepted black voting with ease. Kentucky Republicans, because theirs was the minority party and needed votes, worked hard to enlist black voters as Republicans and to organize local Black Republican clubs. Kentucky Democrats largely ignored the black voters. In campaign speeches, Kentucky Democrats blamed the Republicans for the end of slavery and all the new rights given to the black man and urged all "true white southerners" to vote against "Black Republicanism."

Black Voters Cast Their First Ballots

Blacks were first able to vote in Kentucky local and county elections in August, 1870. There is no evidence that black voters were warned not to vote by the night-riding mobs. Some black voters were questioned extensively at the polls, kept waiting in line for long periods of time, or forced to produce tax receipts. In general, however, Kentucky black voters were able to cast their first ballots without interference.

The voting was described by the August 8, 1870 *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, which usually tended to be critical of Kentucky politics. "There was a wholesome respect for the law, and a resigned spirit of obedience to existing statutes. Various dodges were resorted to to keep the blacks from the polls, but there were few instances where a colored vote was rejected, when it was apparent that the voter was in all particulars qualified."



ELIJAH P. MARRS fought for freedom on the battlefield, in political conventions, and as an educator. In 1864, when Shelby County was threatened by Confederate soldiers, Elijah P. Marrs, then a slave, mustered a company of twenty-seven men, armed them with clubs, and as their captain marched his company to Louisville to enlist in the Union Army. He served as sergeant of Company L, Twelfth United States Heavy Artillery during the Civil War.

After Emancipation, Marrs was a delegate to Kentucky's first political convention in 1869 and was appointed to the convention's committee on resolutions. He was also a member

In 1879, Elijah P. Marrs became the first president of the Kentucky Normal and Theological Institute, which later became Simmons University.

Congressional Elections, 1870

Blacks in Kentucky voted again in November, 1870, to elect members of the United States Congress. Large numbers of Kentucky Blacks voted and the number of votes the Republican candidates received increased amazingly. The Republican vote in the Seventh District, for example, jumped from 2,373 in 1868 to 10,916 in 1870. But the Democrats were still stronger. The Democratic candidate in the Seventh District won with 14,312 votes.

Democratic candidates were elected to each of the nine Congressional seats. The black vote almost produced a winner in the Eighth District. Out of 24,000 votes cast in that district, the Democratic candidate won by a majority of only 18 votes.

Statewide Elections, 1871

Kentucky Republicans hoped that the black vote would enable them to elect a Republican Governor in 1871. As a candidate, the Republicans nominated John M. Harlan, a popular Kentucky leader. Harlan stumped the State, speaking before black audiences, urging black leaders to encourage all black voters to vote on election day.

Vote they did, as the figures indicate. Harlan polled 52,000 more votes than had the Republican nominee for Governor in 1868. Even assuming that all of Kentucky's 35,000 black voters had voted for Harlan, he must have attracted 17,000 additional votes from white Kentuckians to show such strength. In other words, white voters did not leave the Republican party when the black voters joined it.



GEORGE W. GENTRY, a Stanford attorney, was a delegate to several Kentucky State conventions.

Republicans did win six seats in the legislature from counties that were over 30 per cent Black. However, Democratic strength was still overwhelming. Even though Harlan polled 52,000 new votes, the Democratic candidate, Preston H. Leslie, defeated Harlan by over 35,000 votes. Harlan, after being defeated in his bid for Governor, became a Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1877. As Supreme Court Justice, Harlan earned the reputation of being an outspoken advocate of equal rights for all citizens.

Subsequent Elections

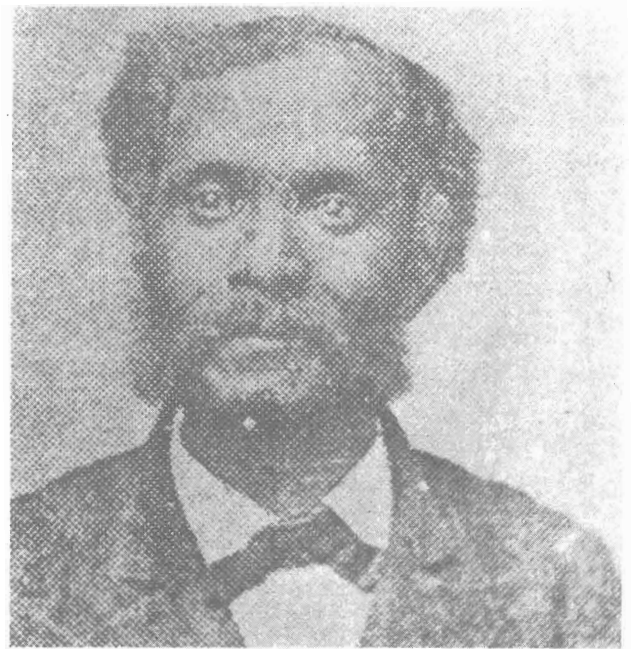
The first elections in which Kentucky Blacks voted set the pattern for state elections for the next forty years. Black citizens voted generally for the Republican candidates; and the Republican candidates rarely won the elections.

Although poll taxes were used in some local communities to keep Blacks from voting, such illegal methods as "grandfather"² clauses and literacy tests (widely used in the deep South as late as the 1960's), did not develop in Kentucky. This was probably because there were not enough black voters to defeat Democratic lawmakers already in office.

As many Democrats had predicted, the solid black block vote for the Republican Party gradually broke down. Some Blacks began to look to their former masters for political guidance. Others became disenchanted with the Republican Party because the party did not run black candidates for office on the Republican ticket.

Nathaniel R. Harper

One prominent black Republican leader was Nathaniel Harper of Louisville. Harper came to Louisville after the Civil War in 1869. He was one of the first black lawyers in the city and was admitted to practice law in the city courts in 1871. He became Kentucky's first black judge in 1888 when he was asked to preside as judge by Judge R.H. Thompson.



HONORABLE NATHANIEL R. HARPER, who won the fight for mixed juries before Jefferson Circuit Court in 1886, was the first black judge appointed in Kentucky.

In 1895, Louisville Republican leaders chose Harper as their candidate for state representative from the Tenth Ward. Statewide Republican leaders, however, objected to having a black man on the ballot. So these leaders changed the procedure for choosing the party candidates for representative. Before that year, party leaders in each district chose the candidate from that district, as the Tenth Ward leaders had chosen Harper. In 1895, however, the Republican Convention voted to choose all the candidates by a vote of the total convention. And thus, a white man was chosen to be candidate from the Tenth Ward.

Harper was hired to make campaign speeches throughout the State for a Republican ticket that had no black candidates. That year, because of a split in the Democratic Party, a Republican, William O. Bradley, was elected Governor. Bradley appointed Harper Commissioner of the Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Statistics of the Colored People of the State. The story of Nathaniel Harper indicates that the Republican Party of that period was willing to appoint but not to elect black candidates to public office.

Summary of Chapter Nine

Black Kentuckians took their responsibilities as citizens very seriously. They organized political clubs to press for equal rights under the law.

The Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution gave black Kentuckians the right to vote. In 1870, there were about 35,000 eligible black voters in Kentucky, most of whom joined the

Republican Party. Black Republican Clubs worked to encourage all Blacks to vote.

Blacks were not prevented from voting in Kentucky as they were in other states. However, the Republican Party did not encourage black candidates to run for office. Black men were welcomed as voters but not as candidates.

¹ Paris *True Kentuckian*, December 3, 1867, cited by King, "Anti Bellum Free Negroes as Race Leaders," p. 39

² White Voters, who would have been disqualified by literacy or property requirements along with black voters, were allowed to vote if the white voters could show that members of their families had voted before the Civil War.

Chapter Ten

Protection from Mob Violence



IN THE VIOLENT PERIOD FOLLOWING THE CIVIL WAR, black people were often the victims of severe beatings just as they had been in slavery days.

During the Civil War, Kentucky was a very divided state with some Kentuckians fighting for the North and some for the South. Both armies made drives into the State. Some Kentucky cities were held first by the Union Army, then by the Confederate Army, and then by the Union Army again.

Civil War Raiders

In these confusing years, bands of raiders

developed. A group of men in Lexington, for example, might have sympathies for the Union cause. When the Confederate Army was occupying Lexington, these men could harass that Army by sneaking up to the horse corrals at night and stealing the horses the Confederate soldiers used. Such raiders often wore masks so that they could not be identified.

Even after the war ended, these bands continued to use their wartime tactics of night raids upon

poorly protected individuals. The masked raiders soon found that black people were most vulnerable to their attacks. Law enforcement officials often overlooked the black community's pleas for help.

Some men simply took pleasure in frightening innocent black citizens. Other mobs wanted to drive the Blacks out of certain areas. Still others wanted to keep Blacks from going to school or from certain jobs the white men wanted.

Violence Against Freed Blacks

Knowing how much of this masked violence occurred is difficult. Many Blacks were probably too frightened to report such raids or did not know to whom they might report them. Freedmen's Bureau officials in some areas reported many cases of violence.

Peter Bonesteel, a special investigator with the Freedmen's Bureau, who toured Kentucky in 1866, sent a horrifying report to Washington listing the following outrages: 23 cases of most severe and inhuman whipping of men, 4 of beating and shooting, 2 shot and wounded, 2 of robbing and shooting, 3 of robbing, 5 men shot and killed, 4 beaten to death, 1 beaten and roasted, 3 women assaulted and ravaged, 4 women beaten, 2 women tied up and whipped until insensible, 2 men and their families beaten and driven from their homes and their property destroyed, 2 instances of the burning of dwellings, and 1 of inmate shot. Of these victims, 12 men were Union soldiers and 2 women the wives of Union soldiers.

An old history of Kentucky written by Lewis and Richard H. Collins describes other crimes committed against black citizens between 1866 and 1873. A black man, his wife, and daughter were hanged for allegedly poisoning a neighbor's well. Twelve laborers who lost their jobs at the iron works because Blacks would work for lower wages attacked a boarding house and wounded several of its black residents. All the members of one black family were murdered with a hatchet.

Even white men were not immune from this terrorism. A white Shelby County Ku Klux Klansman

who testified against some of his co-conspirators was taken from jail and lynched by a mob. In another raid, night riders drove a black couple from their home and killed a white man who tried to protect the couple.

Warnings such as this one sent to Mrs. L.A. Baldwin who taught in a freedmen's school in Bowling Green were used to frighten whites who helped the freedmen:

KU KLUX KLANS!

Blood! Poison! Powder! Torch!
Leave in five days or hell's your portion!

Rally, Rally, watch your chance,
First blood, first premiums K.K.K.
If ball, or torch, or poison fails,
The house beneath you shall be blown
to hell, or move you.¹

Post-War Governors Oppose Violence

The Freedmen's Bureau took stern measures against the mobs. The Bureau was a federal agency and had United States Army troops under its command. On March 1, 1867, Brevet Brigadier General Sydney Burbank, who headed the Kentucky Bureau, ordered the U.S. troops in Kentucky to arrest the raiders whenever possible and confine them to military prisons.

In December, 1867, when it was announced that the Freedmen's Bureau would be withdrawn from Henderson and Daviess Counties, a mob rode across that area warning all Blacks that they, too, must leave the area before February 20, 1868. White owners who rented tenements to Blacks were warned that any still occupied after the same date would be burned. Frightened Blacks crowded into Owensboro, Henderson, and smaller towns along the river. Because of these conditions, the order withdrawing the Freedmen's Bureau was rescinded and its agents remained in the area to protect Blacks from the threatened raids.

Each of Kentucky's post-war Governors declared his opposition to the tactics of the night-riders.

As early as 1867, Governor Thomas E. Bramlette sent a special message to the General Assembly calling the lawmakers' attention to the outrageous murders committed by a group of outlaws called the Rowzee Band in Marion, Boyle and adjoining counties. Though he requested both the power to offer ample rewards for the capture of the regulators and additional powers for state authorities to pursue them, the General Assembly granted him only the power to offer rewards up to \$500 for the capture of the raiders.

In October, 1867, Governor John W. Stevenson sent state troops to Mercer County to maintain order and protect the citizens from mob violence. In 1869, he again sent troops to the area composed of Boyle, Garrard, and Lincoln Counties in the center of the State. He vowed he would never hesitate to send troops "whenever it becomes necessary for the arrest and bringing to justice of all those who combine together, no matter under what pretense, to trample the law under their feet by acts of personal violence."²

In 1871, Governor Stevenson urged the General Assembly to pass a bill which outlawed the carrying of concealed weapons. The General Assembly passed the bill on March 22, 1871. Fines ranging from \$25 for the first offense to \$400 for subsequent convictions, jail terms from thirty days to six months were provided. The steep increase in the fines for second offenders shows that this bill was specifically directed against those who made a habit of lawlessness.

In 1872, the newly elected Governor Preston H. Leslie also requested additional powers to rid the State of the night-riding mobs. "When men organize themselves into vigilance committees, clans or leagues, . . . with the avowed or practical purpose of taking the law into their own hands, to inflict punishment upon any member of the community who may be obnoxious to them, they become themselves the most dangerous class of lawbreakers."³

The General Assembly responded by passing one law that provided for fines and imprisonment for anyone trying to intimidate a voter. Another law established fines and jail terms for anyone convicted of sending intimidating letters or notes.

Local officials who did not prosecute such offen-

ders could be removed from office and fined or imprisoned. The Governor was authorized to offer rewards of up to \$500 for information about such threatening letters.

William H. Gibson, Sr.

One black man who became a central figure in a dispute about law enforcement which ultimately involved even the President of the United States was William H. Gibson, Sr.

Gibson was a free Black who came to Kentucky as a teacher in 1847 and opened his own school in Louisville. There he taught both slave and free Blacks. When the Civil War began, William Gibson became a recruiting sergeant for the 54th Massachusetts regiment. He recruited more than one hundred Kentucky Blacks who enlisted in the Massachusetts regiment because Kentucky regiments did not enlist black soldiers.

In 1870, Gibson received a federal appointment to be the United States Mail agent on the train between Louisville and Lexington. News that there was a black agent on the train spread.

On January 25, 1871, a group of white men attacked, but did not seriously injure, agent Gibson as the train stopped to collect mail at the North Benson Depot in Shelby County. Governor Stevenson ordered an immediate investigation of the incident and asked the legislators for the power to send state troops into the area without a request from local authorities.

The United States government sent soldiers to guard the mail train. Armed with muskets, these soldiers rode with agent Gibson in the mail car and appeared at the door of the car at each station where mail was collected. Rumors of further violence caused cancellation of mail service between Louisville and Lexington on March 3, 1871.

In a special message to Congress on March 23, 1871, President Ulysses S. Grant told of the danger to the mail service in several states. He asked for increased federal powers to combat lawlessness in states where local authorities were unable to control the outlaws.

At the same time, the General Assembly of Kentucky passed the measure that banned the carrying of concealed weapons. This bill specifically stated that it was the duty of local officials to arrest each violator. If a local sheriff refused to apprehend such violators, the sheriff could be fined \$100.

Thus, state authorities were more able to deal with violations of the law in areas where local law enforcement agents were hesitant to arrest the law-breakers. The federal soldiers were taken off the train and agent Gibson continued as mail agent without further harassment.

However, the legislature refused to pass a law that would allow state troops to enforce the law in counties that did not request their aid. So black citizens appealed to the federal government.

Black Citizens Petition Help of Congress

On March 27, 1871, six black citizens—Samuel Damsey, B. Smith, B.T. Crampton, Henry Marrs,

Henry Lynn, and N.N. Trumbo—presented a petition to the United States Congress on behalf of the Colored citizens of Frankfort and vicinity. Part of the petition read:

“We would respectfully state that life, liberty and property are unprotected among the colored race of this state. Organized Bands of desperate and lawless men mainly composed of soldiers of the late Rebel Armies, armed disciplined and disguised and bound by Oath and secret obligations, have by force terror and violence subverted all civil society among Colored people . . .” the petition then listed 64 cases of racial violence that had occurred in Kentucky between 1867 and 1869.⁴

However sympathetic the United States Congress was to the distress of the Kentucky Blacks, it had little power in the area of local law enforcement. But by presenting their plight to the federal government, Kentucky Blacks did create more political pressure within the State to end the lawlessness. Mob violence directed against Blacks decreased noticeably after 1871.

Summary of Chapter Ten

In the violent period following the Civil War, black citizens were especially subject to the terrorism inflicted by night-riding bandits. The Freedmen’s Bureau agents and the Governors of Kentucky used both soldiers and state guard to pursue the mobsters.

Laws passed by the General Assembly established a basic structure for combating the terroristic tactics. The Governor was given the power to offer rewards and to send troops into an area with a request for aid

from local officials. A means of punishing local authorities who refused to enforce the law was provided. Certain specific acts such as carrying concealed weapons or intimidating voters were defined as criminal activity.

Local law enforcement officials, however, were often reluctant to protect black citizens. There was so much violence that black citizens finally petitioned the U.S. Congress for protection.

¹U.S., Congress, House of Representatives, Freedmen’s Affairs in Kentucky and Tennessee, *Special Report of Brevet Major General Carlin*, Executive Document No. 329, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., [Ser. Set. No. 1346] (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1868), p. 19

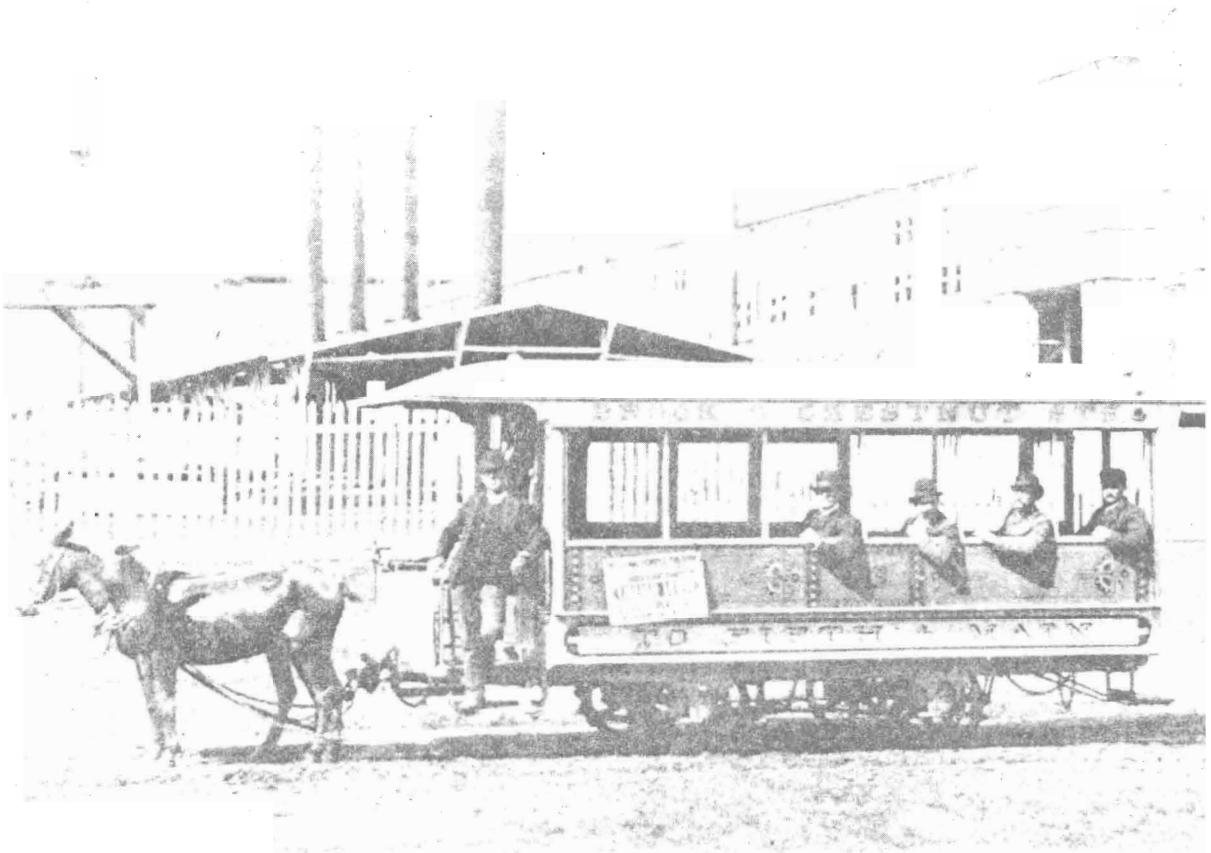
²Kentucky General Assembly, Senate, *Kentucky Senate Journal*, 1870. (Frankfort: The Kentucky Yeoman Office, 1869), p. 30

³ Kentucky General Assembly, Senate, *Kentucky Senate Journal*, 1872. (Frankfort: The Kentucky Yeoman Office, 1871), p. 27

⁴Petition reprinted in Joanne Grant’s *Black Protest: History, Documents, and Analyses, 1619 to the Present*, (Greenwich, Conn: Fawcett Publications, 1968) p. 154-156

Chapter Eleven

Early Black Protest Movements



ONE OF THE EARLY MULE-DRAWN STREETCARS which were integrated by an 1870 sit-in. Notice the platform on the front where black men were expected to stand.

Black protest movements are not strategies created by the Blacks of the 1950's, as Kentucky black history amply demonstrates. The thirty-year period just after the Civil War saw a number of protest movements organized by black Kentuckians.

As we have already studied, black conventions

complained about the lack of protection from mob violence and the inability of Blacks to testify in Kentucky courts against white citizens. Petitions signed by black citizens were sent to Kentucky Governors, to the State legislature, and even to the United States Congress.

Louisville Streetcar Sit-in

One early protest involved the Louisville streetcars. Three different streetcar companies operated under charters from the city in 1870. Each company made its own regulations regarding Blacks. Black women were allowed to sit inside the coaches by all three companies. Black men were required to stand on the platform outside the coach on some lines and excluded altogether on others.

In October, 1870, black leaders decided to test the legality of these restrictions. They organized a public rally at Quinn Chapel, AME Church, followed by a peaceful march to the streetcar stop where three respectable black businessmen—Horace Pierce, Robert and Samuel Fox—paid their fares, boarded the car, and sat down. The driver ordered them to move outside and, when they refused, called other drivers to his assistance and forcibly ejected the customers. At this action, the black crowd was indignant and began hurling stones and mud at the car. Police arrived shortly and scattered the crowd.

Next morning, the three men sued the Central Passenger Railroad Company for damages. Since, as Blacks, they were not allowed to testify against the white conductor in state courts, they demanded that their case be heard in federal court where Judge Bland Ballard presided. Judge Ballard decided that a public carrier is obliged to carry customers who pay the same fare under the same circumstances, and awarded damages of \$15.00 to the Blacks.

Once the judgment was made public, black men moved to test its validity. They paid their fare, boarded and sat inside streetcars at many different stops on the line. Reactions of the individual conductors varied. Some simply stopped their cars and black and white men faced each other in silence. Others forcibly ejected the unwelcome passengers. One young Black, Carey Duncan, proved his faith in passive resistance by refusing to move or to defend himself. He was dragged from the car and beaten by neighborhood "toughs."

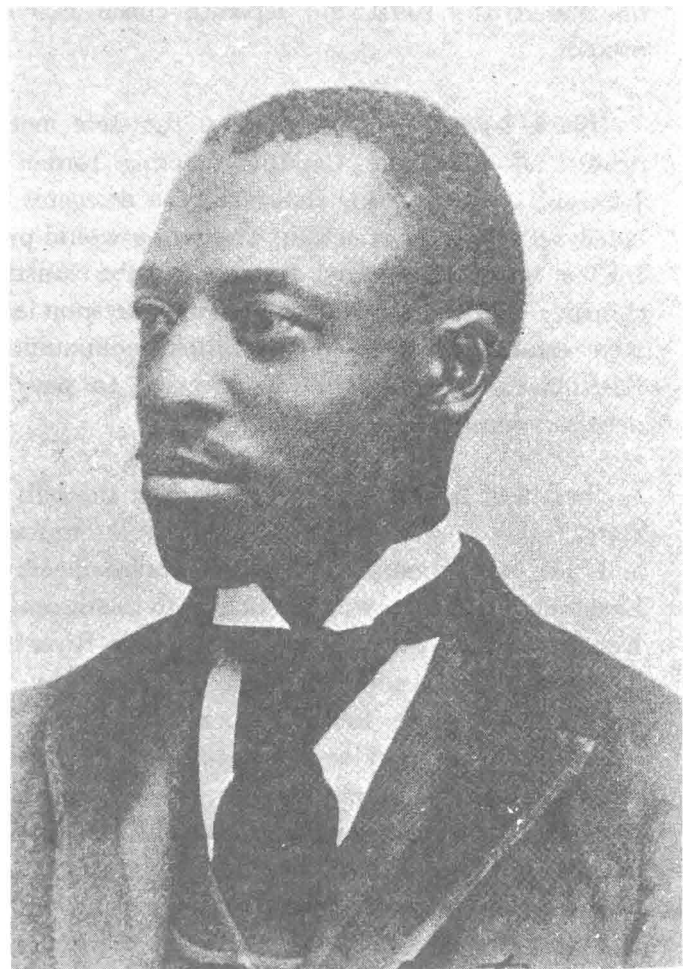
As the violence increased, city officials met with streetcar company presidents to find a solution. Faced with the determination of the black leaders and the inflexibility of the federal court ruling, and anxious to prevent further damage to streetcars, the streetcar presidents capitulated. They agreed that all

passengers could ride seated inside the coaches. From that time onward, the city streetcars remained unsegregated.

Anti-Separate Coach Movement

Having learned that positive, direct action was able to prevent segregation in the Louisville streetcars, black leaders were equally as aggressive on statewide basis when an attempt was made to segregate interstate railroad coaches.

In December, 1891, a bill was introduced into the Kentucky General Assembly to require separate coaches for white and black travelers on interstate railroads. Hoping to defeat the bill by immediate action, black leaders from across the state met and appointed a committee to appear before the Governor to ask him not to support the bill. Professor C.C. Monroe of the State Normal School in Frankfort was elected chairman and C.H. Parrish of Louisville chairman of the committee on resolutions.



C. C. MONROE, first Kentuckian to speak out against Jim Crow coaches, was removed from his teaching position at Kentucky Normal School because of his role in the anti-separate coach movement.



MRS. L. M. SNEED OF LOUISVILLE AND MISS LENA B. TIBBS OF DANVILLE were members of a statewide delegation of women who went to Frankfort to protest the separate coach law. Other black women in this delegation included Miss Mary V. Cook of Bowling Green, Miss Lizzie E. Green of Frankfort, and Miss M. E. Britton of Lexington.

On January 29, 1892, these men appeared before the joint railroad commission of the Senate and House. Even the women got into the action; a delegation of black women protesting the bill visited the General Assembly. All the efforts were fruitless; on March 15, 1892, the separate coach bill was passed.

Black leaders from throughout the state met in protest at the State Capitol. Electing Jordan C. Jackson, of Lexington, chairman, the delegates decided upon a plan of action. The group would press for an immediate court decision on the constitutionality of the bill. Committees of correspondence were established in various Kentucky communities. Each black family would be assessed to pay the necessary legal defense funds.

Less than a year after the passage of the bill, the court test was ready. The Reverend W.H. Anderson and his wife boarded an L&N Railroad car in Evansville, Indiana, with a ticket to Madisonville, Kentucky. When the train crossed the Ohio River into Kentucky, the Andersons were requested by the conductor to move to the "black" car. When they refused to move, they were forcibly put off the train at Henderson, Kentucky. There they bought two more tickets to Madisonville, boarded the next train and sat in the "white" section. Again, they were asked to leave but refused and were put off at Robards' Station. Then, they filed suit against the L&N Railroad for \$15,000.

The case was heard in U.S. District Court in Owensboro. On June 4, 1894, Judge John W. Barr

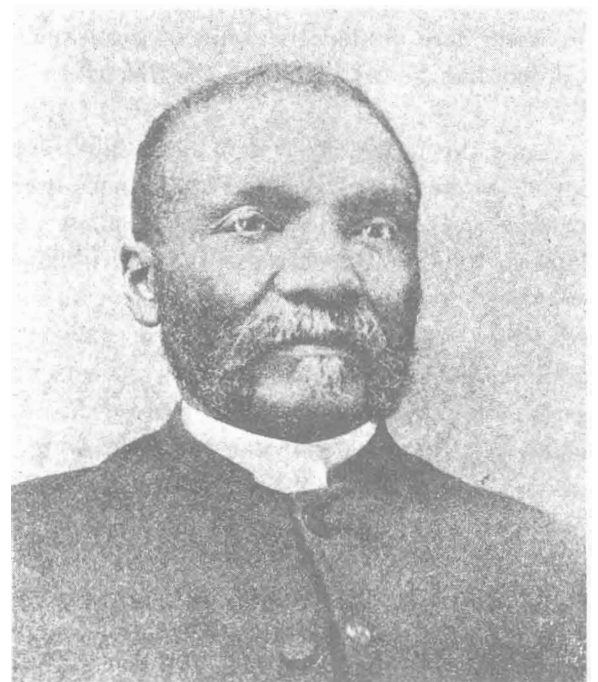
announced his decision that the Kentucky statute was unconstitutional because it attempted to regulate interstate commerce, a function of government plainly reserved to the United States Congress. Kentucky black leaders were jubilant; they had won a great victory.

Plessy v. Ferguson

Their victory was short-lived. For in May, 1896, in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision, the United States Supreme Court ruled that state laws requiring segregated railroad cars were indeed constitutional as long as the facilities provided were "separate but equal."

This case was one of many civil rights cases in which Justice John M. Harlan from Kentucky disagreed with the majority of the Supreme Court.

"The thin disguise of 'equal' accommodations for passengers in railroad coaches will not mislead anyone, nor atone for the wrong this day done," objected Harlan. "The arbitrary separation of citizens on the basis of race, while they are on a public highway, is a badge of servitude wholly inconsistent with the civil freedom and the equality of the law established by the Constitution. It cannot be justified upon any legal grounds."¹



REVEREND W. H. ANDERSON tested the constitutionality of the separate coach act of Kentucky by bringing suit against L&N Railroad.

Regardless of Harlan's objections, the damage was done. The *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision opened the door to another means by which black citizens could be denied full and equal participation in American society. Once segregation of railway coaches had been declared legal by the Supreme Court, then segregation of public buildings, schools, parks, and other means of transportation became possible. The bright hopes for full citizenship which had inspired Kentucky black citizens during the first years after the Civil War disappeared when the Supreme Court condemned Blacks to a separate but equal existence.

Charles Henry Parrish, Sr.

One of the many active black citizens of this period was Charles H. Parrish, Sr. Parrish was born in Lexington in 1859, the son of slave parents. His father was a teamster; his mother was a seamstress. His mother's master taught him to read.

Parrish was only six years old when Kentucky slaves received their freedom so he was able to attend one of the public schools established in Lexington for the freedmen. Encouraged by his teachers to continue his education, Parrish moved to Louisville to enroll in



J. H. LOTT, black attorney of the legal team which handled Anderson's suit against L&N Railroad challenging the separate coach law. Senior counsel for the case was John Feland, a white attorney from Owensboro.



REVEREND C. H. PARRISH

the Louisville Normal and Theological Institute (which later became known as Simmons College).

Since he had little money, Parrish had to work to pay for his living expenses while he attended school. Although a college degree seemed an almost impossible goal for this former slave, Parrish continued his double program of work and study until 1886 when he finally received his B.A. degree. He was twenty-seven years old.

After he was graduated, Parrish received a call to become Pastor of the Calvary Baptist Church in Louisville. He also served as professor of Greek at his former college. Although still a young man, he was elected delegate to the Republican State Convention, the Colored Educational Convention of 1884 and the National Convention of Colored Men which was held in Louisville in 1883.

When Blacks met in Frankfort to form the Anti-Separate Coach Movement, they elected Parrish chairman of the very important resolutions committee and sent him to meet with the Governor as a spokesman for the black citizens of Kentucky.

As Blacks were increasingly excluded from political circles in Kentucky, Parrish turned his leadership ability to religious and educational matters. He became President of Eckstein Norton College—a boarding school that trained young black men to be

teachers in Kentucky's new schools for Blacks. In 1918, Dr. Parrish became President of Simmons University and continued as its president until 1931.

His prominence as a church leader became world-wide. In 1923, he was one of the American delegates to the Baptist World Alliance Meeting in Stockholm, Sweden. There he was named to the executive committee of the Baptist World Alliance. He was one of only two black men on the eight-member committee.

Summary of Chapter Eleven

Throughout this period of the Kentucky black man's first years of full citizenship, he was quick to organize in committees and convention and to stand up and demand the rights that were his. He was not reluctant to approach the Governor or the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, even though he knew that these bodies were controlled by Democrats who were often unsympathetic to his requests.

In two specific cases, the desegregation of the Louisville street cars and the Anti-Separate Coach Movement, black leaders organized protests that included the use of passive resistance and court orders to gain their goals. One of many active black citizens

of the period was the Reverend Charles Henry Parrish, Sr.

The stereotype of the black man during Reconstruction is that of a poor freedman in tattered clothes, homeless, ignorant, wandering from place to place in search of some kind of occupation. It must be emphasized that there is another side to this picture. The Kentucky Reconstruction picture shows educated black men meeting, selecting officers, making speeches, visiting the Governor, calling upon members of the General Assembly, even petitioning the United States Congress to gain those rights for which they too had fought as Union soldiers. These were proud citizens with great faith in the democratic processes and legal institutions of their day.

¹*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537, at 562, (1896).

Unit Three

The Development of Segregation

--1890-1930

The period from 1890 to 1930 was a discouraging one for Kentucky's black citizen. After the Civil War, black men and women had been motivated by the hope that after they were educated, employed and settled in a community, they would take their places as full citizens in Kentucky. By 1890, Blacks began to see that the majority of whites did not share this hope.

The United States government, which had pressed so strongly for Civil Rights for Blacks immediately after the Civil War, had turned its attention to other issues. In 1896, the highest court in the land dynamited the black man's dream of an equalitarian society by declaring that states which required black citizens to ride separate railroad cars were not discriminating against those Blacks.

With the legal approval that this Supreme Court decision implied, Kentucky lawmakers began to require the segregation of many other aspects of public life. Public education was already segregated; but the Kentucky General Assembly declared that even private schools had to be segregated. Railway cars were segregated; then the waiting rooms in the terminals also became segregated. City and state parks were reserved for "white only" or for "colored only." Labor union locals, which had originally organized on an integrated basis, divided into segregated units.

While the Supreme Court Decision had stipulated that segregated facilities should be "separate but equal," in most Kentucky communities the black facilities were not equal to those provided for whites. Black parks were smaller and had fewer recreation facilities than the white parks. Black teachers were paid lower salaries than white teachers with the same qualifications.

Reminders of their separate but unequal status confronted Kentucky's black citizens in almost every aspect of their lives. Not only were Blacks denied equal facilities in education and public accommodations, but they were also denied access to housing and high paying jobs.

As legal segregation became more widespread, Blacks began to realize that they would have to organize to protect their own rights. Various local movements found coordination in two national organizations, the NAACP and the Urban League. The Kentucky Negro Education Association campaigned to assure black children of the best possible education. The Commission for Interracial Cooperation worked on bridging interracial barriers.

This kind of cooperation achieved a major victory in 1917. When the Louisville Board of Aldermen tried to require residential segregation, black leaders were able to fight this law all the way to the Supreme Court. Their efforts were successful. The Supreme Court declared that such attempts to segregate housing were unconstitutional.

After World War I, lynchings and other forms of violence against Blacks increased. However, the Ku Klux Klan did not become a major force in the State, because of the determination of Kentucky's officials to enforce the law.

Although several prosperous black-owned businesses were established in the early Twentieth Century, the majority of Kentucky's black people worked as laborers or farmers. Because of the lack of economic opportunities in Kentucky and the desire to escape Kentucky's legal segregation, many Kentucky Blacks migrated to northern cities.

Chapter Twelve

Beginnings of Segregation



THIS 1929 PHOTOGRAPH shows that Louisville's buses were not segregated.

During slavery times, close physical relationships existed between Blacks and whites from childhood through adulthood. White children on country farms often found their only playmates in the nearby slave quarters. As the maids and servants of the white mistress, black women were frequently responsible for the upbringing and moral education of white children.

The races worked together on common tasks. The master and his slave worked together in the fields to

bring in the harvest. In the kitchen, the mistress and her housemaid together preserved the fruits of that harvest. Slaves traveled with their masters on public conveyances and stayed with their masters in public inns. A picnic in the park often meant a black man came along to carry the picnic basket and the black cook spread the bountiful provisions she had prepared earlier. But the relationship was always an unequal one—the master gave the orders and the slave followed them.

Housing Segregation Traditional

During this pre-Civil War period, slaves' quarters were on the same land, often in the very building where the white family lived. While Blacks were excluded from participating as equals in the activities of whites, urban slaveowners especially did not have the space to isolate their Blacks from the rest of the neighborhood. In the cities, black people lived on alleys behind their masters' houses in small shacks or cabins. So traditionally, there was a kind of layer cake pattern of segregation in Kentucky's cities.

The Layer Cake Pattern

After the Civil War, the traditional slave quarters became freedmen's neighborhoods. Many former slaves simply stayed in their present homes and continued to work for the family to whom they had belonged in exchange for a salary. Rural slaves became sharecroppers, farming a part of the master's farm in return for a share of the crop.

The residential patterns of many of today's Kentucky towns reflect the layer cake pattern of segregation. Hopkinsville, for example, has several streets where the big houses on the streets are occupied by white people and the smaller houses on the back streets and alleys are occupied by Blacks.

The Ghetto

But in some outlying areas, the activities of masked raiders and Ku Klux Klansmen terrorized rural Blacks and forced them to leave their homes and crowd into the cities where they felt there would be safety in numbers. Most slaves had few possessions; even their clothing technically had belonged to their masters. So these refugees did as all poor immigrants to American cities have done, congregated in the poorest section of the city among people of their own kind. However, once there, it was difficult to move out of such neighborhoods.

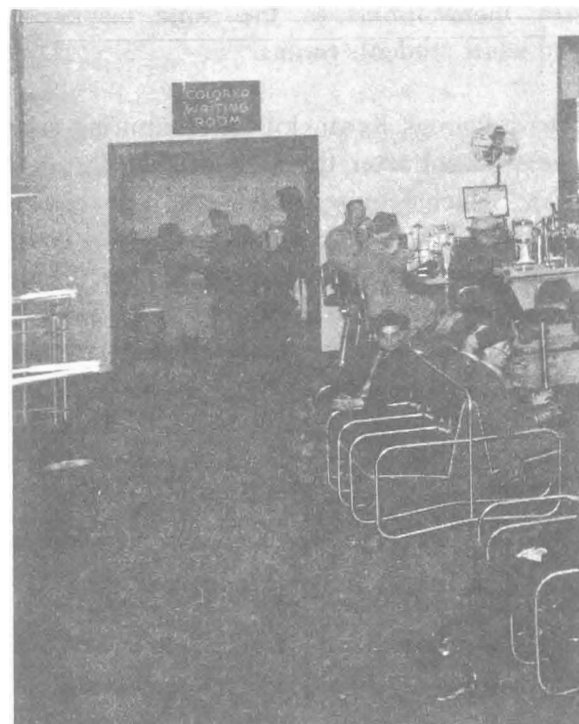
Members of other refugee groups—the Germans, or the Irish, or the Italians—found that if they

worked hard, learned to speak English without an accent, bought some new clothes, and saved their money, they could eventually move out of the slums and be accepted in a new neighborhood. But the black man with an outstanding education who worked hard and accumulated great wealth found he was still barred from certain neighborhoods only because of the color of his skin. Thus, segregated housing continued in a new form—that of the ghetto.

Development of Legal Segregation

How did traditional segregation become segregation by law? A modern historian, C. Vann Woodward, has traced the development of segregation laws in the South, in *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. Most such laws, he states, were not enacted immediately after the Civil War but developed much later in the first two decades of the Twentieth Century. This was certainly true of Kentucky.

As late as 1900, Kentucky law contained very few provisions for segregation. Education was segregated. Coaches on railroad cars were segregated by state law. Most state institutions—the House of Reform,



A COLORED WAITING ROOM for black passengers is shown in this photograph of a Louisville railroad station.

mental hospitals, tuberculosis sanatoriums, the School for the Blind—were segregated. But there were no state laws segregating parks, places of amusement, libraries, welfare institutions, hospitals, or places of employment.

This does not mean that such places were not segregated. Sometimes local city ordinances prohibited use of such facilities by both races; but often the force of custom alone was strong enough to segregate an institution. Blacks simply “knew their place.”

This lack of statewide laws requiring segregation was to prove fortunate as the Black’s drive for civil rights became a reality. Local communities with large black populations could desegregate specific institutions without waiting for a more conservative state legislature to pass desegregation laws.

In many areas, as Blacks began to press for equal treatment, they found no laws ever existed to exclude them. In Louisville, for example, once the decision to desegregate the General Hospital School of Nursing had been made, authorities found there was no regulation (either on the part of the hospital or on the part of the city) to prohibit placing black and white girls in the same dormitory. And so, the School of Nursing simply accepted black applicants and assigned them rooms in the same manner they assigned white students rooms.

Two infamous Kentucky laws requiring segregation were passed after the turn of the century. The Day Law, which required segregated private schools was passed in 1904. In 1914, the Louisville Board of Aldermen passed an ordinance designed to enforce segregated housing. Since both these laws were ultimately tested in the Supreme Court, we should study them in more detail.

Segregated Education

Since the Civil War, Berea College had been the only College in Kentucky where Blacks and whites attended school together, but even this integrated institution was unable to survive the intensified racial bigotry of the early Twentieth Century. Visiting Berea in 1904, Representative Carl Day was shocked by the sight of black and white students mingling as equals.



SEWING CLASS AT BEREA

He returned to Frankfort and introduced a bill that would prohibit all desegregated schools in Kentucky. The bill was passed by overwhelming majorities in both the House and Senate.

The Day Law

The Day Law provided: (1) that private educational institutions could not be desegregated, and (2) that any institution that taught both races could do so only at campuses separated by at least 25 miles. Thus, Berea would have to either change its policy of teaching blacks and whites together or else pay a fine of \$1,000 plus \$100 for each day it maintained desegregated education. Students who attended the integrated institution and faculty who taught in it were also subject to daily fines.

Berea leaders were incensed and immediately instituted proceedings to have the Day Law declared unconstitutional. Students who attended Berea were there on a voluntary basis, argued the college, and these students had chosen an integrated institution. The State could neither deny these students’ right to attend an integrated college nor dictate admissions policy to a private institution which received no state money.

The Kentucky Court of Appeals disagreed. Berea had no inherent right to teach in Kentucky; it taught under articles of incorporation issued by the State so the State could define the conditions under which it could teach. In the opinion of the Court, the Day Law was not discriminatory because it applied equally to both races—whites were not allowed to attend black institutions either.

The Kentucky Court did rule that the requirement for twenty-five miles between campuses was unreasonable and invalid, but in all other points upheld the law.

In 1908, the case finally came before the U.S. Supreme Court. That court upheld the Kentucky Court's decision that the State could require a private institution to segregate its students. Only two Justices dissented. Justice John M. Harlan, himself a Kentuckian, declared forthrightly that the statute was "cruel . . . and . . . inconsistent . . . with the great principle of the equality of citizens before the law."

"Have we become so inoculated with prejudice of race that an American government, professedly

based on the principles of freedom, charged with the protection of all citizens alike, can make distinctions between such citizens in the matter of their voluntary meeting for innocent purposes simply because of their respective races?" he asked, but his was only one voice against a prevailing tide.

The Lincoln Institute

Having lost its court fight against the Day Law, Berea College chose to remain an institution dedicated primarily to the education of white southern mountain students. However, since some of its endowment had been raised from people interested in supporting black education, President William G. Frost and the Board of Trustees felt a continuing obligation to provide for black education.

Hence, in 1906, the President and his board joined with two Berea black graduates, Dr. James Bond and Kirke Smith, to raise \$400,000 to establish a private school for Blacks. Gifts of all sizes (from \$200,000 from Andrew Carnegie to a few pennies from a school child) poured in.



THE BEREA FOOTBALL TEAM posed for this picture about 1900.

In less than three years, the necessary funds had been raised. A board of trustees was incorporated. Land was purchased near Shelbyville and, in 1911, the cornerstone of the first building was laid. The first President of Lincoln Institute was the pastor of the Berea Union Church, Reverend A. Eugene Thomas; and the school's faculty was composed of teachers of both races.

In 1912, the Lincoln Institute began to write a new chapter in the story of black education in Kentucky. Students came for all over Kentucky to live on its beautiful campus; day students from nearby Shelbyville and Louisville also attended. Dr. Bond became the financial agent of the new school. Kirke Smith became the Dean of Instruction and Students. In the beginning there were more white than black teachers. Gradually the Institute attracted more and more capable black teachers.

In 1935, Dr. Whitney Young became its president. Like so many other institutions, the Lincoln Institute was hard hit by the depression. Sources of endowment funds disappeared: students had no money to pay for their education. But Dr. Young and his staff were determined not to let the Lincoln Institute die. Agreeing to give up their regular salaries for a percentage of whatever funds could be procured, groups of teachers canvassed the State to tell Lincoln Institute's story, search for new applicants to bolster a sagging enrollment, and encourage contributions from people throughout the State.

The generosity of a wealthy Lexington Black, however, probably saved the school. In his will, William Henry Hughes left Lincoln Institute \$10,000. Important as this gift was to the financially troubled school, another bequest in the will had more far-reaching consequences for Lincoln Institute.

William Hughes' will established a trust fund of almost \$100,000, the income of which was to be used each year to provide scholarships, "one-half for white persons and the other half for colored persons."

This generous action was used as a talking point by Dr. Young and his teachers. They encouraged men of good will of both races to contribute to the education of Kentucky's black youth with generosity like that of William Hughes. In nickels and dimes, as well as larger contributions, Kentuckians responded

to their request. Lincoln Institute received the financial support necessary to continue its work.

Education at Lincoln

The grounds of the Institute contained a farm where modern methods of agriculture were taught to rural youth while they raised most of the provisions for the school tables. Girls were taught home economics as well as algebra and boys woodworking as well as classical English. The Institute became one of the first schools in the country to establish a course in maintenance engineering.

Education students from Kentucky State College received their teacher training experience at Lincoln; white students from the Southern Baptist Seminary prepared for work in foreign missions in an on-the-job training program at Lincoln. Over half of the Lincoln Institute students went on to higher education; often to schools outside Kentucky since their educational opportunities within Kentucky were so limited.

Contracts with Local School Systems

In 1941, the Kentucky General Assembly passed a law requiring that local boards of education must provide all students living within their districts with the opportunity to acquire a high school education. If a local board did not operate high school facilities for all students, it could fulfill its legal obligation either by transporting students to a nearby school system or by paying their tuition and board expenses.

Since half the counties in Kentucky did not provide high school facilities for Blacks, this law enabled Lincoln to make contracts with local boards of education to provide high school services for their black students.

Received State Support

After a fire destroyed the boys' dormitory at Lincoln, the State Legislature was persuaded to appropriate State funds for Lincoln Institute under a contract arrangement between Lincoln and the State Board of Education.

In 1947, Lincoln Institute became a public school supported by the State of Kentucky. The property and buildings were deeded to the State with the stipulation that they always be used for educational purposes. The school operated as a State high school until 1965 when the desegregation of public schools throughout the State made the maintenance of a separate school for black students unnecessary.

The Lincoln Institute officially closed. The next year a new school opened on the Lincoln Ridge grounds for bright but disadvantaged young people from throughout Kentucky. Despite the fact that it was hailed by educators throughout the country for its imaginative educational program on an integrated campus, the new school was forced to close in 1970 because the Kentucky legislature cut its funds out of the State budget. Many educators both white and black, felt that the same fear of interracial education which produced the Day Law in 1904 was the real reason for the closing of the Lincoln School in 1970.

Residential Segregation

On May 11, 1914, the Louisville Board of Aldermen passed an ordinance that was designed to enforce residential segregation. The ordinance provided that if the majority of residents upon a given city block were white, only white families might use or occupy homes on that block; or if the majority of

residents were black, only black families might use or occupy homes there.

The Louisville Ordinance

Carefully designed to be in accord with the "separate but equal" principle, the ordinance placed the same restrictions of Black and white. It did not apply to residential uses prior to its passage. Blacks or whites could buy property anywhere—but they could not live on their property if that property were on a block where the other race predominated. If the law were allowed to stand, soon the city would be divided into "black blocks" and "white blocks" and segregation of the races would be almost complete.

Black leaders and some white leaders were dismayed by the passage of this ordinance. On June 2, a mass rally was held at Quinn Chapel to raise money to bring a test case into court. Local NAACP President Dr. C.H. Parrish invited national officers, Chapin Brinsmade and Dr. Joel Spingarn to speak at the rally. These speakers pledged national support in testing the legality of the block law.

Buchanan V. Warley

The test case was carefully prepared. Robert Buchanan, a white man, sold a lot from a block on

At the turn of the century, Frankfort officials attempted to stop the congregation of the First Baptist Church from constructing a new church building (pictured below at left).



The city ignored the petition of the Church trustees for a building permit. Then, when excavation was begun without a permit, the contractor, the Church trustees, and laborers were arrested, taken to court, and fined. To obtain fines in this case, the city council had passed a new ordinance.

Determined to build a new church, the trustees obtained a temporary injunction to prevent the city from interfering with the construction of a house of worship. In 1903, Judge James E. Cantrill dissolved this injunction, declaring that "a Negro church is a 'nuisance' per se."

The trustees took the case to the Court of Appeals where, in 1904, the decision was reversed and a perpetual injunction was granted by Judge Settle. In ruling on the case, the Court stated, "It would be strange indeed, to find it announced in the law books or declared by any court of final resort, that a beer garden or dance hall may exist in a city, yet a brick, fireproof church may not be erected therein . . ."

which there were eight white and two black residents to William Warley, the black editor of *The Louisville News*. In the sales agreement, William Warley stated that he was buying the lot with the intention of erecting a house for himself and his family and that he would not pay for the lot unless he had the right to occupy that house. Of course, under the Louisville law, he couldn't live there. So when Warley did not pay for his lot, Buchanan sued him.

Thus the case was one in which the white man claimed the Louisville law was unconstitutional because it interfered with his right to sell his property. The case went before a local court where the judge held that the law was constitutional and that William Warley did not have to pay for the lot because of the clause in the sales agreement.

Buchanan appealed to the Kentucky Court of Appeals where he received the same judgment. Then Buchanan took his appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. One of his lawyers for the appeal was Moorfield Storey, the National President of the NAACP.

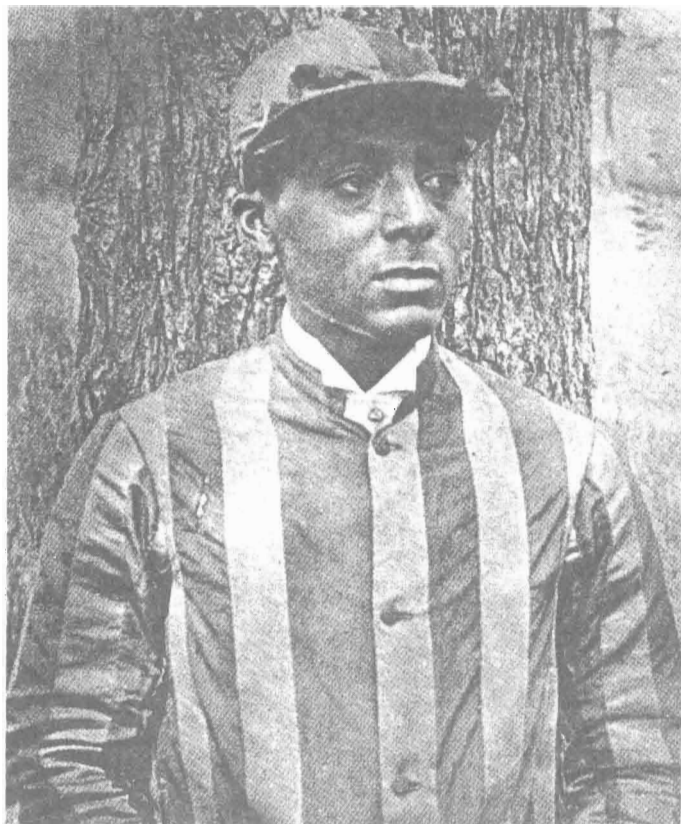
In a historic decision, the Supreme Court, in 1917, reversed the decisions of the lower courts and declared that the Louisville ordinance was indeed unconstitutional. The Fourteenth Amendment of the

Constitution guarantees the right of any person to acquire and own property without discrimination because of his race. It also guaranteed the right of a man to sell his property to whomsoever he might choose. The Louisville law restricted, because of race, Buchanan's right to sell his property—thus the law was unconstitutional. And probably no one was happier about the decision than William Warley, the black man who had just “lost” his case before the Supreme Court of the United States!¹

Civil Rights Strategy

The techniques used by Kentucky Blacks to defeat the Louisville residential segregation ordinance were used again and again in the next 30 years to eliminate the discriminatory restrictions under which they lived.

Black leaders picked an issue which could be fought in the courts. They raised money to pursue the case through donations from local Blacks. They enlisted the support of church leaders who probably were most able to communicate with large groups of people. They enlisted as much local white support as possible. (Buchanan was a white man; the attorneys



ISAAC MURPHY, first jockey to ride three Kentucky Derby winners: Buchanan (1884), Riley (1890), and Kingman (1891).

Of the first 28 winning Derby horses, 15 had black jockeys. The eleven black jockeys who won the Derby during these years included one triple-winner (Murphy) and two double-winners (Willie Simms and James Winkfield). Winkfield, whose second victory was in 1902, was the last black jockey to win the Derby. Since 1911 no black jockeys have participated in the Kentucky Derby.

who pressed the case to the Supreme Court were white men.) They appealed to the national office of the NAACP for legal advice.

Once the case had been decided, they consolidated their gains. Through the entire process, they waited with amazing patience. *Buchanan v. Warley* took three years. Many of the later civil rights battles took many more years.

Movie Theaters

In another move against Louisville segregation in

the early 1920's, black leaders protested the "Peanut Galleries" where Blacks were obligated to sit in downtown movie theaters when they paid the same price for tickets that white patrons paid. A committee was formed which organized a boycott of the theaters by Blacks. The committee enforced discipline by publishing in the newspaper the names of those who broke the boycott. Their efforts were successful in forcing the closing of the "Peanut Galleries." However, the victory was one of principle only, for now Blacks were not allowed to attend downtown theaters at all.²

Summary of Chapter Twelve

The pre-Civil War society in Kentucky was a far more integrated society in some respects than was Kentucky society of 1910, although separation of the races was traditional in this society.

Laws which made the separation of the races mandatory were passed after the Civil War. Most of these statutes were passed in the period between 1890 and 1910. Thus, post Civil War legislation and pre-Civil War tradition kept the black man from enjoying his new freedom and rights as a citizen.

Two laws were far-reaching in their effects. (1) The Day Law, passed in 1904, banned desegregated private education in Kentucky. This law remained in force until 1950. This law did have one beneficial effect for black Kentuckians: it led to the development of an excellent school for Blacks called Lincoln Institute. (2) The Louisville housing ordinance was designed to eventually segregate all housing within the city. Black leaders waged a successful campaign to have this ordinance declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court.

¹W. F. Woolsey, "Equality: Struggle of Louisville Negroes isn't new; it began dramatically over 50 years ago," *Louisville Times* September 25, 1971, p. 8.

²*Ibid.*, p. 8

Chapter Thirteen

Organizations to Aid Blacks



SEWING CLASSES were among the recreational and educational programs offered by Settlement Houses in Louisville.

The Anti-Separate Coach Movement in Kentucky had failed in its attempt to eliminate segregated railway cars but many other problems faced Kentucky Blacks that might be solved through group activity. The plight of urban Blacks, for example, was beginning to attract attention.

In 1890, 28% of Kentucky's Blacks lived in urban areas (the U.S. Census defines urban areas as cities with 2,500 or more inhabitants.) In 1900, 35% of Kentucky's Blacks lived in urban areas. For 1910, the figure was 41%. This shift of the black population

from rural to urban areas continued throughout the Twentieth Century, so that by 1960, 71% of Kentucky's Blacks lived in cities.

Those Blacks who moved to the city found that city life was different from country life. Children who could be left unsupervised to fish in country streams or roam the hills and meadows could not be left alone in the city. Problems of poor sanitation and uncleanness multiplied in the city. Farmers needed vocational training in the skills of the industrial society.

Settlement Houses

Reacting to the plight of these urban Blacks, some church groups established settlement houses in urban areas. The programs offered by these houses varied according to the needs of the neighborhood: child care facilities, recreational programs for young people, vocational and personal hygiene training, and literacy education were some of the programs offered.

In 1898, the Presbyterian Church began such a program at the Hancock Street Chapel in Louisville. Plymouth Settlement House on West Chestnut Street in Louisville, sponsored by Plymouth Congregational Church, opened its doors in 1917. These efforts reached only a small percentage of the urban Blacks. The need for a unified effort of the entire community soon became apparent.

National and Regional Organizations

Two national organizations developed to deal with these problems—the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Urban League. A third organization, the Commission for Interracial Cooperation, operated primarily in the South.

The NAACP

In 1908, Springfield, Illinois was the scene of a bloody race riot. Describing the “reign of terror” that he found in Lincoln’s home town, William English Walling, a white journalist from Kentucky, aroused public indignation. Conscience-stricken people wrote to him asking what could be done to prevent such racial conflict. Black leaders such as Ida Wells Barnett, William L. Buckley, the Reverend Francis J. Grimke, and W.E.B. DuBois joined with white supporters including Jane Addams, Lincoln Steffens, and Lillian D. Wald to call for a national conference to discuss Walling’s “appeal to citizens to come to the Negroes’ aid.”

This conference recommended the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with a professional staff, committees for investigation and legal aid, and a publicity department. Publication of the NAACP monthly

magazine, *The Crisis*, edited by W.E.B. DuBois, began in 1910.

Local chapters sprang up. Kentucky’s first was founded in Louisville, in 1914. The Paducah Chapter was organized in 1927. Chapters in Bell County and Central City received their charters in 1939. During the forties, twenty-five new chapters in various Kentucky cities and counties were formed. Today there are over forty NAACP Chapters in the state.

The Urban League

In 1911, leaders of various groups working on the problems of city Blacks met in New York City to form a National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes. A Kentuckian, Eugene Knickle Jones of Louisville, soon became the chief executive of the Urban League (as this organization came to be called) and served in this position for over forty years. From 1961 to 1971 another Kentuckian, Whitney Young, Jr., served as National Director of the Urban League.

Dedicated to working chiefly for better employment opportunities, improved housing conditions, and educational and vocational programs directed



EUGENE KNICKLE JONES, who served as chief executive of the Urban League for over forty years, became Advisor on Negro Affairs of the U.S. Department of Commerce under President Roosevelt.

toward urban Blacks, the Urban League set up local chapters in many cities. These chapters were organized on an interracial basis and included business, civic, and labor leaders on their boards. One of the first local chapters in the United States was organized in Louisville in 1920. Kentucky's only other Urban League was formed in Lexington in 1966.

Commission on Interracial Cooperation

In response to the increased racial violence that followed World War I, southern leaders began to explore ways of interracial communication. Out of this search grew the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

This organization enrolled both white and black citizens in training programs and educational seminars. While not attacking segregation, the Commission did press for equal justice for all citizens, equal participation in government welfare programs, and an end to lynching.

James Bond

Director of the Commission in Kentucky was the Reverend James Bond. Born as a slave in Whitley County during the Civil War, James Bond was only a toddler when Kentucky slaves were freed. His mother was determined that her sons would receive an education and sent both James and his brother Henry to Berea for high school and college. In 1892, James Bond received a Bachelor of Science degree from Berea; in 1895, he received his divinity degree from Oberlin Seminary.

After serving as Pastor of the Howard Congregational Church at Nashville, Tennessee, Bond returned to Kentucky in 1906, and eventually settled at Simpsonville where he was financial agent for the newly founded Lincoln Institute.

When World War I broke out, Bond volunteered for the Chaplain's Corps but was rejected because of his age. He was fifty-five years old. Eager to serve, he worked with young soldiers as YMCA Camp Service Director at Camp Taylor, near Louisville. The YMCA Camp Service program provided counseling, recreation and entertainment, and emergency assistance for the young men in the camps.

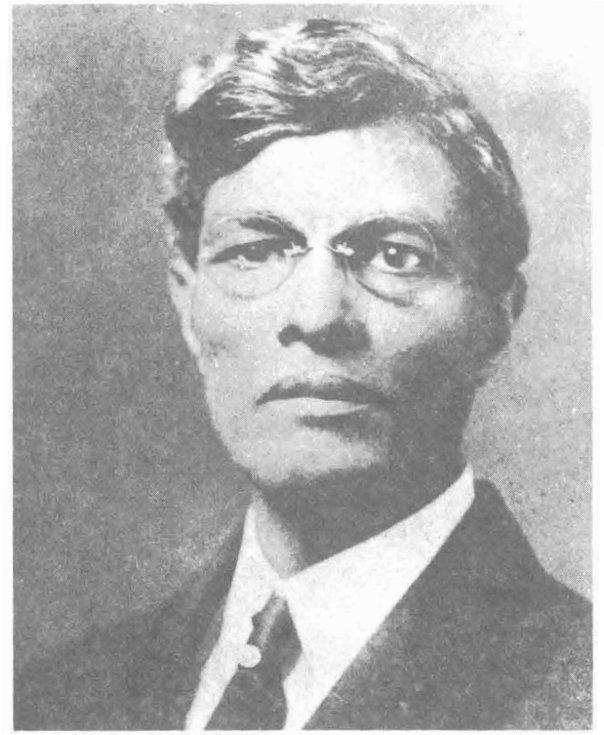
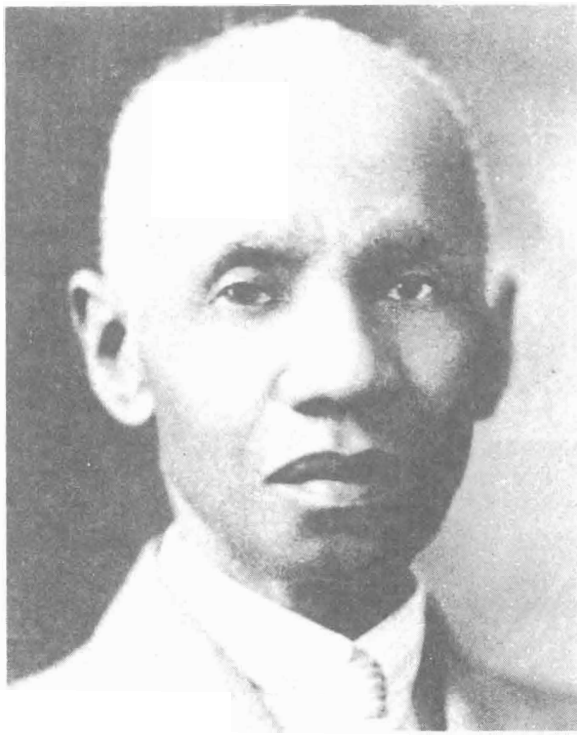


DR. JAMES BOND

After the war, Bond was appointed Kentucky Secretary for the black YMCA's. At the same time, he served as Kentucky Director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. In both capacities, he toured the State, urging local citizens to establish programs promoting interracial communication and cooperation. For many black and white Kentuckians alike, these meetings provided their first opportunity to meet and discuss mutual problems in an interracial setting. The Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, and its affiliate the Kentucky Council on Human Relations are modern-day successors to the Commission.

Local Institutions

Black Kentuckians had already recognized some problems that could be solved through joint efforts. In Louisville, for example, in 1877, a group of Blacks organized the Colored Orphans' Home which was maintained for many years by donations from the black community. The St. James Old Folks Home was incorporated in 1887 by many of the same black citizens. This home provided care for old and infirm Blacks who had no one else to care for them.



CO-FOUNDERS OF LOUISVILLE'S RED CROSS HOSPITAL Dr. W.T. Merchant and Dr. Ellis D. Whedbee.

Red Cross Hospital

Because black doctors were not able to treat patients at any of the public or church-sponsored hospitals in the city, in 1899 a small group of black physicians led by Dr. W. T. Merchant and Dr. Ellis D. Whedbee established Red Cross Hospital in Louisville.

Among the doctors who assisted in the founding was Dr. William H. Perry, Sr. who was the first black physician to secure his license by passing the Kentucky State Board of Medical Examiners (1908). Prior to that time, physicians had qualified through apprenticeship.

During its first years, the Red Cross Hospital was

supported almost entirely by money raised within the black community. Later some white citizens saw the necessity for hospital care for Blacks and contributed to the hospital.

The hospital was originally located in a two-story frame building on Sixth Street between Walnut and Liberty. In 1905, this hospital was moved to its present location at 1436 South Shelby Street. A brick structure was built in 1912. Since that time, several new additions have modernized the old structure.

In addition to caring for patients, the Red Cross Hospital provided training programs for black nurses and doctors. Patients from many communities in Kentucky that did not provide hospital facilities for Blacks received care at Red Cross Hospital.

Summary of Chapter Thirteen

During the early years of the Twentieth Century, many groups organized in order to help black citizens achieve equality of opportunity. Kentuckians figured prominently in the development of the two most famous national organizations, the NAACP and the Urban League.

Black citizens also organized local institutions to care for those in need. In Louisville, for example, Blacks organized an orphans home, an old folks home, and a hospital.

Chapter Fourteen

Economic Life



"Quite a variety of machinery has been tried for hemp breaking, together with Dutch, Irish, and Natives, but a stout Negro man, with a good hand brake, a fair task before him, and prompt pay for his overwork, now has a decided preference, if not a complete monopoly," advised a Kentucky farmer in 1859. While few slaves in Kentucky worked cotton fields, many Kentucky slaves and some free Blacks worked growing and curing hemp. Using the hand brake, this man is cracking the outer shell of the hemp stalk to remove it from the inner fibers which are used to make rope. This same tool was used in both the 19th and 20th Century.

Great changes had taken place in the economic life of Kentucky Blacks by the turn of the century. Kentucky's black population had decreased substantially. It was rapidly becoming an urban rather than a rural population.

New industries were developing in Kentucky. Many black men who had worked on small farms found jobs in these new industries. Labor unions began to organize some black workers.

Population Changes

Each census from the Civil War until 1950 showed that the percentage of the total population that was black decreased. In 1860, Kentucky's population was 20.4 per cent black; in 1950, it was 6.9% Black. Many factors account for this decline:

(1) The lure of better jobs in northern industries, especially in the developing automobile industry during the first decades of the twentieth century, attracted many black men to northern cities.

(2) Kentucky lacked educational opportunities for Blacks. Only two four-year colleges were open to Blacks in Kentucky. Graduate courses for Blacks were unavailable in the State. So some of Kentucky's most gifted black students left the State to pursue their education elsewhere and never returned.

(3) Black teachers found that salaries in Kentucky were lower than those in some other states. Kentucky public schools at this time had a double wage scale for teachers: the black teacher was paid about twenty per cent less than the white teacher for doing the same job.

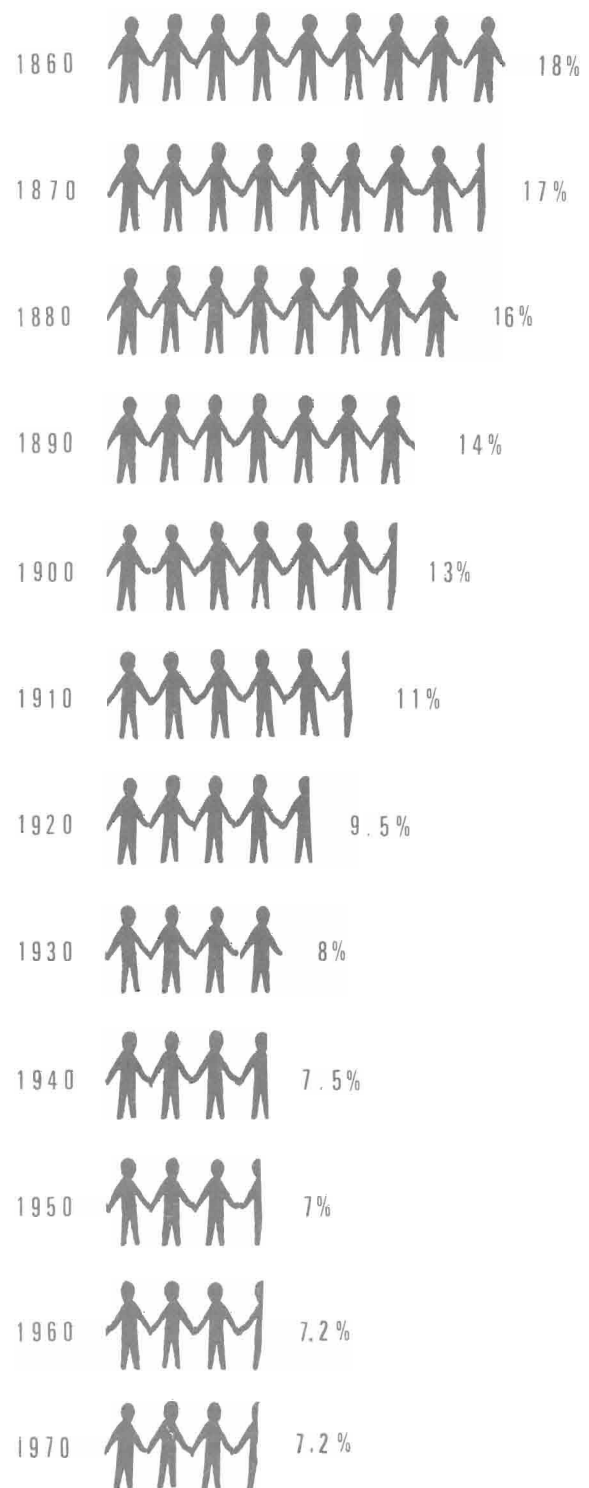
(4) The indignity of legal segregation led many Blacks to leave Kentucky for northern states.

Kentucky's black population began to change from a rural to an urban population at the turn of the century. In 1890, 72 per cent of Kentucky Blacks lived in the country or in towns of less than 2,500 people. By 1910, only 59 per cent lived in rural areas.

Most black farmers had farms that were smaller than those of their white neighbors. However, a high percentage of Kentucky Blacks owned their farms. Over fifty per cent of the land farmed by black Kentuckians was owned by Blacks. Only Virginia and Oklahoma had higher percentages of black farm ownership.

Occupations

The 1910 Census lists the major occupations of black males ten years of age and over. Only 35 per cent of the employed males were agricultural workers. About 23 per cent worked as laborers in



THIS CHART, BASED ON U.S. CENSUS FIGURES FOR 1860 THROUGH 1970, illustrates that the percentage of black Kentuckians in relation to whites in the State's population steadily declined between 1900 and 1950. (Each figure on the chart represents 2% of the State's total population.)

Notice the dramatic decrease in the percentage of Kentucky Blacks in the early years of the Twentieth Century when many black families left the State.

Between 1900 and 1950 the black population of Kentucky also decreased numerically while the white population increased. By 1950, the number of blacks residing in the State had dropped to 202,000 less than at any time since the Civil War.

such places as the railroad shops, cotton mills, brick and cement factories. About 6 per cent were semi-skilled workers in coal mines and tobacco factories. Only 3 per cent were listed as servants. Two per cent were engaged in the building trades as contractors, carpenters, brick layers, and painters. A large number of professional men were listed: Kentucky had 649 clergymen, 112 musicians and teachers of music, 128 physicians and surgeons, and 321 school teachers.

As these figures indicate, black men in Kentucky were increasingly employed in industries rather than on farms. The number of Blacks occupied as servants was very low while the number of professional men was high compared to other states.

Less than half of Kentucky's black women were employed in 1910; most of those who were not employed were probably wives for whom working was not a financial necessity. About 37 per cent of the working women were servants; another 37 per cent were laundresses. Only about 3 per cent were paid employees on farms. An amazingly large number of Kentucky's black women were teachers—two per cent or 1,006 black women. Maryland, a border state with about the same number of employed black women, had half as many teachers as Kentucky had.

By 1910, industrialization had had little effect on the employment of black women in Kentucky. Most of those women who did work were servants or laundresses.

Home Ownership

A higher percentage of Kentucky Blacks owned their own homes than in any other state. Of the black homes in Kentucky, 32 per cent were owned by their occupants.

From these figures, we can draw a picture of Kentucky's black population in 1910. Half of Kentucky's black families lived in cities and towns; the other half lived in rural areas. Many of those in the city owned their own homes; over half of the farmers owned the farms they worked. Most of the men in the cities worked as laborers; many of their wives did not work but those who did were probably either servants or teachers.

Black Businesses

Many black people in the early twentieth century owned their own businesses. Barber shops, beauty parlors, grocery stores, and small restaurants were owned by Blacks. Most towns with a sizeable black population had black-owned mortuaries.

Some larger financial institutions owned largely by Blacks also developed. The emergence of such companies was due in part to the reluctance of white-owned companies to insure Blacks. Two black insurance companies, Mammoth Life and Accident Insurance Company and Domestic Insurance Company, were formed. A black bank, the American Mutual Savings Bank, was organized in Louisville in 1922.

Mammoth Life

Kentucky's largest black-owned business, Mammoth Life and Accident Insurance Company, was founded in 1915. Black businessmen W.H. Wright, Rochelle I. Smith, B.O. Wilderson and H.E. Hall organized a life and accident insurance company with its office in Louisville. Representatives who sold the insurance found such a great demand for it that offices were established in Lexington, Paducah, Bowling Green and Hopkinsville.

In 1924, stock in the company was offered for sale in Kentucky. Within 90 days, \$100,000 worth of stock was sold, principally to black Kentucky residents. President H.E. Hall then urged his board of directors to increase the amount of stock offered to \$200,000, which they did. Within a short period the entire amount of stock was sold.

The company continued to grow and prosper. Branching into business in several states, Mammoth Life became one of the largest black-owned corporations in the area. A large office building was erected in Louisville at Sixth and Walnut. During the economic depression of the early 1930's, Mammoth Life faced its greatest financial challenge but was able to survive the financial pressures that closed so many other banks and insurance companies.

Mammoth Life and Accident Insurance Company in 1970 has offices in eight states: Missouri, Tennes-

see, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Ohio and Kentucky. The company employs more than 500 people and lists total assets of over \$19 million (\$19,000,000).

Labor Unions

Kentucky black workers joined with white workers in the early organization of labor unions during the 1880's and 1890's. One early union movement, the Knights of Labor, was especially active in recruiting both black and white men to meet together in interracial local organizations. But as the union movement became more widespread, many Kentucky unions organized separate locals for black workers.

Black workers have played important roles in two of Kentucky's major industries—the tobacco industry and the coal mines. Although workers in every different industry have different histories to tell, we can understand some of the problems faced by black workers by studying these two industries.



Tobacco Industry

The tobacco industry in Kentucky has always employed a large number of Blacks. In the early twentieth century, about half the employees of the tobacco industry in Kentucky were Black.

The Tobacco Workers International Union was founded in 1895. Its earliest Kentucky local was established shortly thereafter. Black workers were early members of the union; in 1900, Thomas Williams, a Black who lived in Louisville, was Second Vice-President of the national organization.

As segregation developed in Kentucky, however, the union also became segregated. Blacks belonged to one local group; whites belonged to another. The segregated black locals found it difficult to press for better jobs for its members. The white locals often opposed such demands because they were afraid their members would lose the better jobs.



W. H. WRIGHT AND H. E. HALL, founders of Mammoth Life and Accident Insurance Company, one of Kentucky's largest black-owned businesses.

In many cigarette factories, when machines began to be used for certain tasks, they were usually operated by white workers while the black workers did most tasks that involved heavy manual labor.

One observer described this racial division of tasks in his description of a tobacco factory in the 1940's:

"The leaf is first removed by Negro men from the auction room, where it has been purchased from farmers, to the redrying plant. The redrying machine is operated by white men, and the tobacco is fed into it by Negro men. Going into a cooling chamber, it is packed into hogsheads and stored in the warehouses by Negro men. After aging, the tobacco goes to the factory for the first stages of preparation. Negro women perform the operations preparatory to stemming, and remove the stems, either by hand or, more recently, by machinery. They also handle the other processing operations. The leaves are then blended and flavored by Negro men and shredded by a machine operated by white men and fed by Negro men. The shredded tobacco goes to the cigarette-making machine operated by white women. Foremen, inspectors, mechanics, and other skilled maintenance workers are white. White women do the weighing and counting; Negro men, the sweeping and cleaning. White men and women perform the various operations of packing and boxing; Negro men make the box containers and remove them for shipment."¹

Thus, Blacks found themselves working in jobs with little hope for advancement to higher paying positions with more attractive working conditions. The black worker who entered the tobacco industry upon graduation from high school might retire at 65 doing essentially the same kind of work.

The civil rights pressures of the 1960's produced some changes in the black worker's position in this and other industries. Black union locals were abolished; black workers are now part of desegregated locals. Blacks have been hired or allowed to transfer into jobs that previously had been held by whites

However, the patterns of discrimination remained apparent as late as 1969. A Kentucky Human Rights Commission investigation of that year revealed that one group of 154 Blacks who had worked for a tobacco company since 1961 had been forced to give

up all their seniority rights if they chose to transfer to previously all-white departments. A public hearing was held in which the Commission ordered that the company must stop its unfair treatment of minority employees. Only after this order was issued did the company accord the black workers their rightful seniority.

Coal Mining Industry

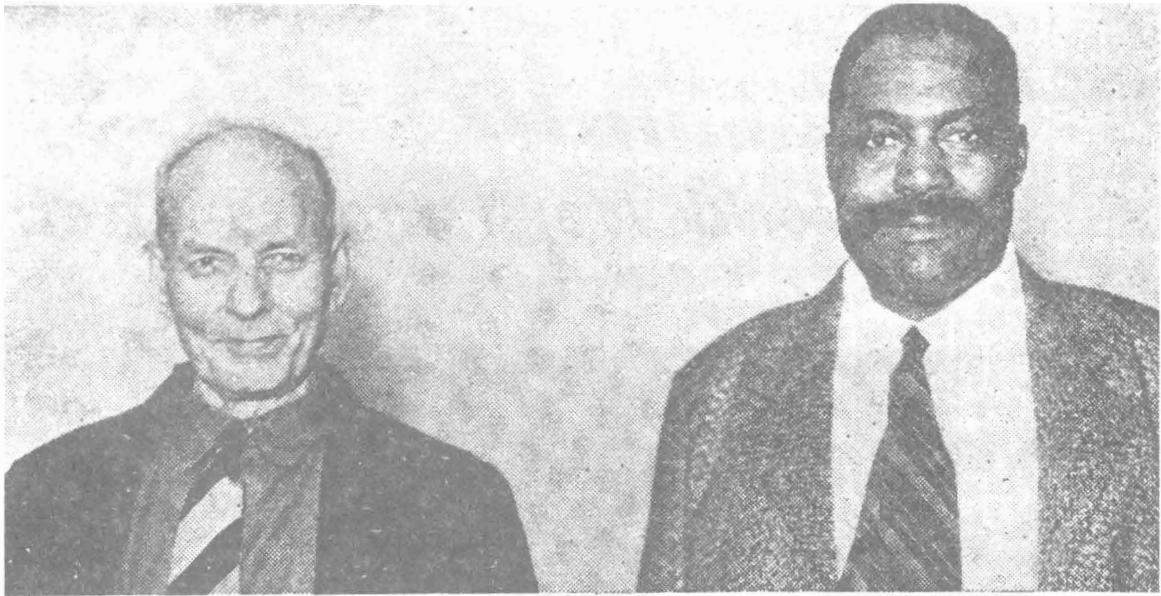
Black workers have played an important role in Kentucky's coal mining industry. Coal was first mined in Kentucky in 1850's and by 1890 coal was a significant product of eastern Kentucky. Most of the coal was originally mined by white miners because the coal deposits were located in areas in which few Blacks lived.

In the 1880's, coal miners began to organize themselves into unions and to strike to demand higher pay or better working conditions. Mine owners tried to end the strikes by importing black workers to take the jobs of the striking miners.

The union, however, approached the black workers and invited them to join the union also. Many black workers did join the unions and participated with white workers in the strikes. The United Mine Workers, which eventually became the dominant union, organized all who worked "in and around the mine" into integrated local chapters. By 1900, Blacks worked in the coal mines under the same conditions as white men worked and joined with their fellow miners in union activities.

But in the 1920's, Kentucky mines became increasingly more mechanized—machines undercut the coal for blasting, drilled holes, stuffed in explosives, and loaded the coal onto conveyors. The jobs involving working with machinery were generally given to the white men. Supervisory and white collar jobs were also given chiefly to white men. In Kentucky, in 1940, for example, of 5,474 black miners, only 52 men (.9%) were in clerical or supervisory positions. For white miners, of 49,202 miners, 4279 (11%) held these higher positions.

So as machines replaced the traditional pick and shovel miners, black miners found themselves without jobs.



WILLIAM HIGHTOWER AND ELZIE PHILLIPS
Released from Prison in December, 1935.

TWO HARLAN COAL MINERS who were involved in the 1931 battle to organize all Harlan coal miners, black and white, in one union. The unjust treatment of the miners attracted nation-wide attention. A committee of prominent writers including Theodore Dreiser, John Dos Passos, and Sherwood Anderson provided a legal defense fund for these and other union organizers who had been arrested.

Although the union had fought for the Black's right to equal pay for the same task, the union did not help black workers to upgrade their jobs, to get jobs operating the machines, for example. And so the number of Blacks working in the coal mines declined noticeably. In 1930, 13.5% of those employed in the coal mining industry were Black; in 1940, only 10%

were Black; in 1950, 4.6%; and in 1960, only 3% of those employed were Black.

In many other industries in Kentucky, the black worker found it difficult to advance to higher paying or supervisory positions.

Summary of Chapter Fourteen

Blacks left Kentucky in ever increasing numbers in the early twentieth century. Better jobs and educational opportunities and the lack of legal segregation in northern cities were the principal reasons for this migration.

The majority of those Blacks who remained in Kentucky worked as laborers or as farmers. Some, however, owned businesses. Several black-owned financial institutions began during the early twentieth

century. The most prominent of these was Mammoth Life and Accident Insurance Company.

Black workers often joined integrated local labor unions during the last part of the nineteenth century. However, as other areas of life became segregated, segregated labor union locals also developed. One notable exception to this process was the United Mine Workers, which almost always included black and white members in a single local.

¹Herbert R. Northrup, *Organized Labor and the Negro* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), p. 103.

Chapter Fifteen

World War I and Its Aftermath



COLONEL CHARLES D. YOUNG was the highest ranking black officer in the United States at the beginning of World War I.

When the call for troops to fight World War I came, Kentucky black men and women volunteered in large numbers. Final figures from Kentucky's Adjutant General's office showed that of 84,172 Kentuckians who served in the armed forces in World War I, 12,584 were Black. In other words, 14 per cent

of Kentucky's service men were black. In 1910, Blacks made up only 11 per cent of Kentucky's population. So a higher proportion of black Kentuckians than of white Kentuckians fought "to make the world safe for democracy."

Colonel Charles D. Young

The highest ranking black officer in the United States at the beginning of World War I was a Kentuckian. Colonel Charles D. Young was born in Mays Lick, Kentucky in 1864. After moving to Ohio, Young received an appointment from that State to the United States Military Academy in 1884.

A man of many talents, Young taught Military Science and Tactics at Wilberforce University in Ohio. He also composed music for both violin and piano. He was proficient in Latin, Greek, German, French, Spanish, and Italian.

During the Spanish American War, Major Young was in charge of the Ninth Ohio Regiment which was made up of black volunteers. After the War, he served in the Philippines, Mexico, and Haiti.

When the United States entered World War I, Young was retired because his high blood pressure made him physically unfit for duty. To prove this was not so, Young rode his horse all the way from Wilberforce, Ohio, to Washington, D.C. He was reinstated, promoted to the rank of Colonel, and later sent to represent the United States as military attache in Liberia. There he contracted a tropical fever and died. He was buried with full military honors at Arlington National Cemetery.

Rufus B. Atwood

The United States Army in World War I was a strictly segregated army. Black soldiers were formed into all-black units; most of these units were part of the Ninety-second Division. The black troops had a distinguished combat record. One unit, the 369th United States Infantry fought in the front lines for over six months and never lost a trench, a foot of ground, or a man through capture. Showing their respect for this fighting unit, the Germans called them "Hell Fighters."

Black soldiers performed many acts of heroism. One Kentuckian who was awarded the Bronze Star for his bravery was Sergeant Rufus B. Atwood, who later became President of Kentucky State College.

When a switchboard necessary for important communications between troops was destroyed by an enemy shell, Atwood reconstructed the switchboard

and connected many new lines. As the official order reported:

"When the ammunition dump began to explode in the same neighborhood, he remained on the job, tapping new connections. After repairs were made from the first explosion, there were two to follow which completely wrecked the switchboard room and tore out all the lines which were newly fixed. Sergeant Atwood was left alone, and he established a new switchboard and the same connections they had at first. The coolness with which he went about his work and the initiative he took in handling the situation justifies his being mentioned in orders."¹

And yet, when this same hero returned home to Hickman, Kentucky after the war, his father advised him not to wear his uniform home because some uniformed black soldiers had been attacked by local residents.

"So, I did as Papa had advised, and went home in a civilian suit, my uniform folded in my suitcase. I passed unnoticed through the depot and reached the house on Cedar Street without incident. Once inside the safety of my home, I put on my uniform so my family could see how I looked as a soldier. That was



RUFUS B. ATWOOD, awarded the Bronze Star for bravery in World War I, later became President of Kentucky State College.

the first and last time my family saw me in uniform—I had not been home since my enlistment—and I never wore that uniform outside our door.”²

Mob Violence in the Twenties

The period just after the end of World War I, from 1919 until 1929 was marked by violence toward black citizens in many parts of the country. Membership in the Ku Klux Klan surged upward. White sheeted marchers appeared openly in Fourth of July parades, marching alongside of victorious army veterans or the local high school bands. Lynchings became more and more frequent, and nighttime burnings of barns and houses owned by Blacks increased at an alarming rate.

Kentucky escaped violence, for the most part. Governor Augustus Stanley had taken a firm stand against violence in Kentucky, vowing eternal opposition to the Ku Klux Klan. In 1917 Governor Stanley subdued a lynch mob in Murray by insisting they would have to attack him before he would let the

prisoner become their victim. When the Klan entered Louisville, Mayor George Smith vowed to “use every lawful means to suppress its growth in our community.” He forbade the street sale of Klan literature and Klan meetings often had to be held across the river in Jeffersonville. Louisville and New Orleans were the only two southern cities to successfully resist the encroachment of the Klan.

Klan Membership in Kentucky

In total Klan membership of all persons initiated between 1915 and 1944, the State of Kentucky ranked twentieth out of the forty-eight states. Kentucky had an estimated membership of 30,000 over the 30-year period, compared to an estimated 140,000 members in Indiana over the same period.

Lynchings

Between 1882 and 1927, there were 233 people lynched in Kentucky including 154 Blacks and 5 women. Only eight other states had a higher number of lynch victims during this period.

After World War I, the statistics in regard to lynchings sharply declined. In the twenty-year period from 1919 to 1939, there were eight recorded lynchings in Kentucky. This figure was a marked decrease from earlier years. (In the period between 1882 and 1903, 103 Blacks were lynched. Between 1904 and 1918, 45 black people were lynched.)³

Although the total number of lynchings decreased through the years, the horrors and injustice of Lynch Law did not. When a 20 year old Maysville Black, who confessed to murdering his employer’s wife, was burned at the stake in 1899, thousands of spectators watched his death without protesting the action of the mob.⁴ In 1921, a mob of 50 hung a black man in Versailles after a jury failed to convict him of murder.⁵

In some cases, the victims of lynchings were not even accused of a specific crime. For example, in 1913, officials found the body of a Louisville black man hanging from a tree. This lynching happened after the man had frightened a white woman by asking her whether her husband was at home. For asking this question, the black man was killed.⁶



DR. JAMES BOND, after volunteering for the army and being rejected because of age, served as YMCA Camp Service Director at Camp Taylor during World War I.

Avoiding "Lynch Law"

One important factor in the decrease of lynchings in Kentucky was that State government officials demonstrated their determination to avoid "Lynch Law." In 1920, a ten-year-old white girl was brutally murdered. A black man named Will Lockett was arrested for that crime and jailed in Lexington. As news of the crime traveled, a mob began to form. Knowing his jail was not secure enough, the Lexington sheriff hustled Lockett off to Frankfort where he was held in the State penitentiary. Sheriff Bain Moore of Franklin County set up roadblocks outside of Frankfort and when the angry mob reached the roadblocks, he informed them in no uncertain terms that all penitentiary guards had orders to shoot to kill anyone who tried to take the prisoner from the penitentiary. So the crowd dispersed, planning to make their move when Lockett was returned to Lexington for trial.

In the meantime, State officials conferred as to the best means of protecting the prisoner. Governor Edwin P. Morrow wanted to call in U.S. Army regular troops, stationed nearby at Camp Taylor; but he did not have the authority to do so unless a clearcut state of emergency existed. So, instead, he ordered the State Guard to Lexington to guard the Courthouse.

Very early in the morning of the trial, the prisoner was secretly brought from Frankfort to the Lexington Courthouse and concealed in a protected inner room. State guard troops, under the command of Adjutant General J.M. Deweese, were stationed on the steps of the courthouse with weapons loaded but with orders to fire only on the command of General Deweese. Before 9:00 A.M., a crowd, drawn from areas all over the South, filled the streets around the Courthouse.

Convinced that the guardsmen would not fire on so large a white mob, at a given signal the leaders attacked General Deweese, who as he went down, gave the signal to fire. The Guardsmen fired into the mob, killing four persons immediately and injuring many others. Two others died by evening. Stunned by this unprecedented move, the crowd dispersed very quickly. Will Lockett's trial could continue.

At this point a real state of emergency did exist. There was talk of retaliation against the State Guard or against officials who had stood so steadfastly for Lockett's right to a trial. Governor Morrow called for

the Army troops and by 3:20 p.m., the First Division Regulars from Camp Taylor arrived. Martial law was declared for Lexington. Soldiers began patrolling the black districts, the tobacco warehouse district (which had been threatened because the sheriff and several other county officials were shareholders in the tobacco companies), and Union Station (where sharp-shooting mountaineers were rumored to be arriving). This show of strength wilted the opposition.

Will Lockett's trial concluded with a verdict of guilty and a sentence of death in the electric chair. Although Lockett was punished for the crime, civil authorities protected his rights for a trial. A lynch mob would not have respected those rights. They would have lynched him even if he had been innocent, "without an opportunity to tell his story."

Undoubtedly this willingness of state and local officials to use the power at their disposal to protect the legal rights of one black man was one reason why Kentucky escaped much of the violence that erupted in other parts of this country in the 1920's.

Black Voters

Many of the black soldiers who fought in World War I came back to Kentucky with a wider knowledge of the world and a greater sense of their own importance. Having fought for their country, they now wanted to take full advantage of their citizenship.

One way they could do this was by voting. Blacks



AFTER WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE WAS GRANTED BY THE NINETEENTH AMENDMENT, black women actively campaigned for candidates who offered the best program for black citizens.

in Kentucky had rarely been prevented from voting as had Blacks in states farther south. However, before World War I, the black vote had not had much power because the State had voted so overwhelmingly Democratic. This pattern was changing. In 1918, a Republican was elected Governor of Kentucky. As the Republican Party gained strength, the black vote gained strength. In a state in which the two parties polled about the same number of votes, the black vote might swing the election to one or the other party.

Black voters might either vote for the party that offered the best program for black citizens or they might form an independent party.

Independent-Lincoln Party

In Louisville, in 1921, a group of black voters did form an independent party. Calling themselves the Independent-Lincoln Party, this group nominated the following black candidates for the city election:

A. D. Porter, Mayor
A. C. Garvin, County Judge

W. F. Gurley, Alderman
Lindsay Garrison, Alderman
Leonard Haley, Alderman
Dr. Morris Blackburn, Alderman
Owen Evans, Alderman
Dr. Wilson Ballard, Alderman
William Warley, Magistrate
N. M. Willis, County Attorney
Mrs. Nora King, Park Commissioner
Dr. J. O. Catalan, Coroner
Willis Cole, Senator
Wilson Lovett, Legislature
W. W. Wilson, Legislature

After an incredibly bitter campaign in which both Warley's newspaper office and Porter's mortuary were attacked by vandals, the Lincoln Party polled only 274 votes. Ten times that many ballots were thrown into the Ohio River, charged an article in the NAACP magazine, *The Crisis*.⁷

While the independent Lincoln Party did not succeed in electing black candidates to office, it did successfully demonstrate that black voters did have political power.

Summary of Chapter Fifteen

A higher percentage of Kentucky Blacks than Kentucky whites fought in World War I. They fought in segregated units. Many of those units earned distinguished combat records. Colonel Charles D. Young and Sergeant Rufus B. Atwood were two of the many outstanding black soldiers Kentucky produced.

Although racial violence increased markedly after the war in many states, in Kentucky state and local authorities took a strong stand against such violence.

The Ku Klux Klan did not become a strong force within the State. In a 1920 attempted lynching, state guardsmen fired upon the mob of white citizens attempting to lynch a black man. This determination to enforce the law probably was a cause of the decline of such mob violence in Kentucky.

The 1920's were also a period of political awakening for many black Kentuckians. This awakening was highlighted by the attempt to form the Independent Lincoln Party.

¹Quoted in John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, (New York: Vintage, 1969), p. 465-6.

²Rufus B. Atwood manuscript autobiography, unpublished, in possession of R.B. Atwood, Chapter 2, p. 31.

³Walter F. White, *Rope and Faggott* (New York: Knopf, 1929), p. 255.

⁴Ralph Ginzburg, *One Hundred Years of Lynching* (New York: Lancer, 1962), p. 24-30

⁵From a New York *Times* article dated March 14, 1921, quoted in Ginzburg, *Ibid.*, p. 88-89

⁶From a *Birmingham News* article dated September 23, 1913 quoted in Ginzburg, *Ibid.*, p. 88-89

⁷W. F. Woolsey, "Equality: Struggle of Louisville Negroes isn't new; it began dramatically over 50 years ago," *Louisville Times*, September 25, 1971, p. 8.

Unit Four

The Struggle Against Discrimination-- 1930-1970

The 1930's began with Kentucky Blacks living in a segregated society. Schools, parks, libraries, trains and waiting rooms were all labeled "For White Only" or "For Colored Only." A few organizations such as the Council for Interracial Cooperation provided links between the black and white communities but essentially Kentucky was a land of two worlds.

Federal programs designed to combat the financial depression that gripped the land in the early thirties provided one of the first cracks in the segregation barrier. Whites and Blacks served together on some of the work projects. Some black students received training in fields such as business, nursing, carpentry, and stenographic skills enabling them to enter professions that otherwise would have been closed to them. Adult education programs provided new skills and learning for an ever increasing number of Black adults.

World War II also provided new opportunities for black Kentuckians. Black soldiers who traveled to all parts of the world learned that the segregated society they knew in Kentucky was not universal. As a result of protests by black citizens, President Roosevelt ordered that defense industries must not discriminate against black workers. Throughout the war, black people continued to demand an end to segregation in the armed forces. However, it was not until 1948 that segregation of the armed forces was banned by an executive order issued by President Truman.

After the war, Kentucky's black leaders turned their attention to the problem of breaking down further the segregation barriers that condemned Blacks to second-class citizenship. Court suits requesting equal educational opportunities and equal park facilities were filed in several communities.

One by one the barriers slowly fell. Black students were admitted to white nursing schools. Black doctors could train in white hospitals. Black sportsmen could play golf on city-owned golf courses. Black teams could play baseball against white teams in city-owned parks.

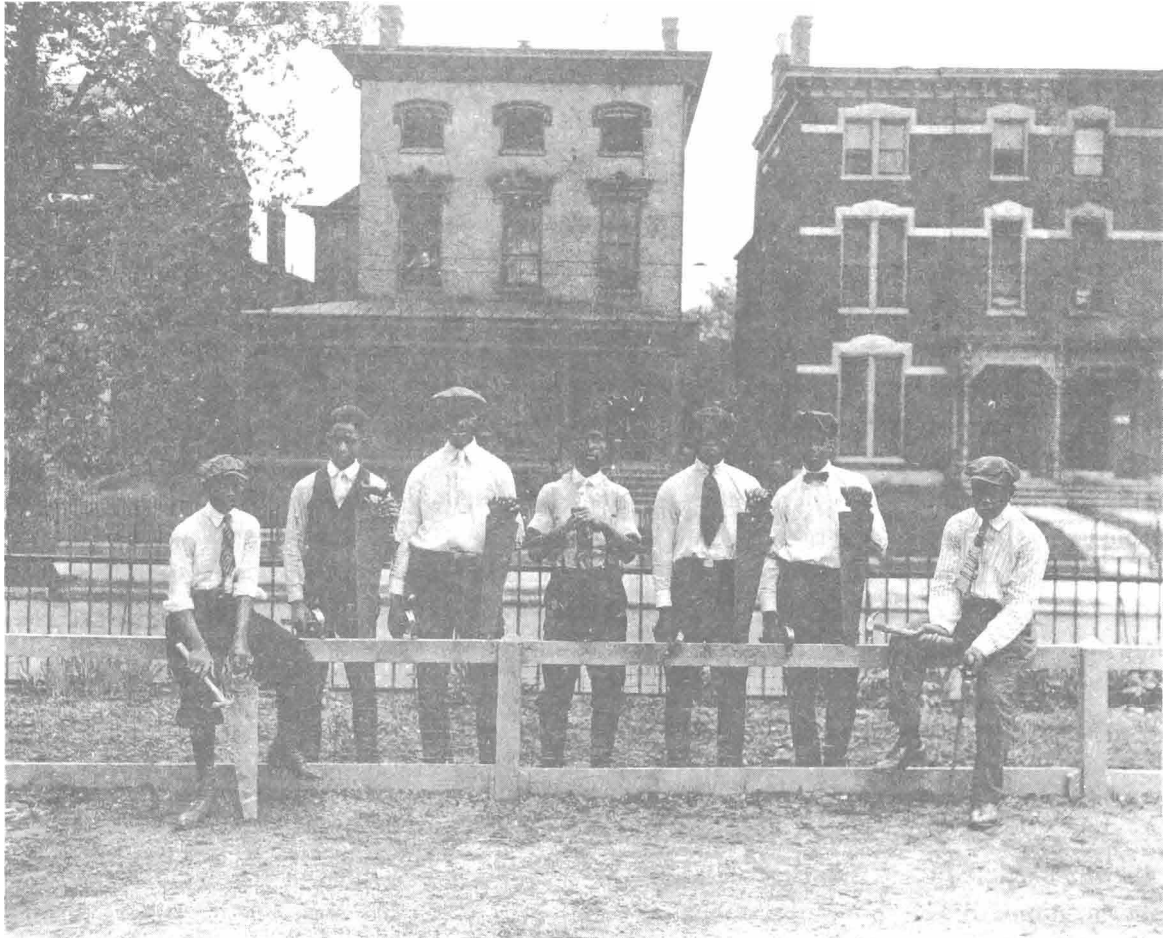
The 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated public schools was met with general acceptance in Kentucky. Within two years after the Court's decision was announced, over half of Kentucky's black children were attending school districts in which some plan of student integration was operating. Persistent legal pressure from the Kentucky NAACP did not end until 1965 when the last Kentucky school district announced desegregation plans.

The establishment of a Kentucky Commission on Human Rights in 1960 indicated the State's official commitment to obtaining equal rights for all Kentuckians. These rights were further defined in the Kentucky Civil Rights Act of 1966 and the Fair Housing Act passed by the General Assembly in 1968. The State guaranteed to all citizens the right to equal employment opportunities, the right to be served in public accommodations, and the right to purchase or rent housing in any area without regard to race, color, religion or national origin.

During the late sixties, many Kentucky Blacks became disillusioned with the slow progress in Civil Rights which followed the end of legal segregation. "Freedom Now," the slogan of the Civil Rights Movement was replaced by demands for "Black Power" as many Kentucky Blacks organized to find solutions to the problems experienced by black people as a result of centuries of oppression, segregation and discrimination.

Chapter Sixteen

Negroes and the Depression



DURING THE DEPRESSION, WPA TRAINING PROGRAMS such as the Louisville carpentry class pictured above gave black people the opportunity to learn new skills.

The depression which began with the stock market crash in 1929 subjected numerous people to severe economic conditions. People who were willing to work simply could not find jobs. College graduates found themselves sweeping streets and digging ditches. Men were forced to sit at home while their wives took employment as domestic servants.

Black people, of course, faced these conditions and worse in the depression; but they had faced similar conditions before. Now the white man was learning that people could find themselves at the bottom of the economic heap *through no fault of their own*. And so the cry came for government action.

Federal Programs

The federal government responded with a number of programs to combat joblessness. The Civilian Conservation Corps organized jobless young men and boys to work with conservation authorities in developing natural resources. The Works Progress Administration built public buildings, roads and bridges. The WPA also provided work for unemployed intellectuals and artists by organizing research programs and sponsoring public art programs.

The National Youth Administration established part-time jobs that would enable high school and college students to remain in school. The NYA also set up training programs for young people who had left school. The Tennessee Valley Authority built dams and electrical generating plants in Kentucky, Tennessee and North Carolina.

In all these projects, Blacks and whites both were taught new skills and given new ways to improve their economic conditions. In Kentucky, the percentage of Blacks involved in the CCC, WPA, and NYA was high in comparison to the percentage of Blacks in the total population. This reflected their disadvantaged economic status.

NYA in Kentucky

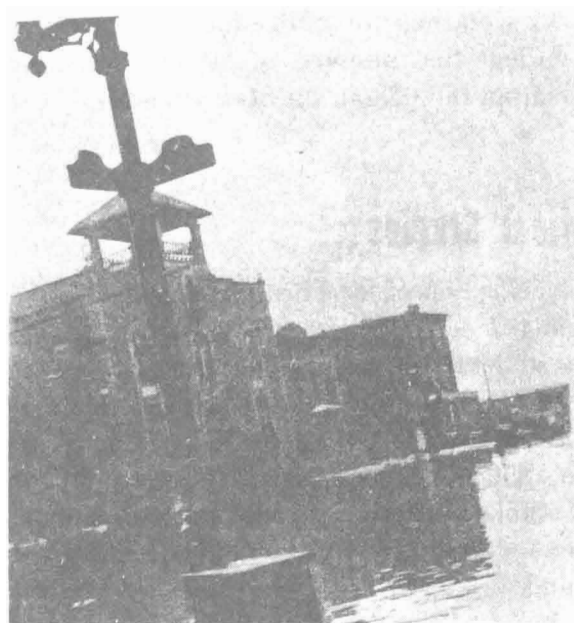
A typical NYA program, for example, was the one administered by the Louisville Municipal College. College officials made two strategic decisions:

1. While federal regulations allotted \$15 per month for each student, at Municipal more students would be helped with smaller monthly payments.
2. Students would be given work that corresponded as closely as possible with their career plans. They were put to work as laboratory assistants and research aides rather than as janitors.

The following chart indicates the number of black students in Louisville receiving NYA assistance:

SCHOOL	1934-35	35-36	36-37	37-38	38-39
Central H.S.	21	33	45	52	76
Madison J.H.S.		10	16	7	4
Municipal College	43	39	114	63	73

The high rate of increase in 1937 reflects the aftermath of the 1937 flood when many black families were made destitute by flood waters.



THE 1937 FLOOD DESTROYED PROPERTY AND LEFT MANY LOUISVILLE BLACKS HOMELESS. Some churches such as St. Augustines (shown above) assisted the refugees. A plan by city officials to segregate flood victims was abandoned after black leaders protested.

Several different job training programs were established for black youths under the auspices of the NYA. In Louisville, for example, a program for girls included instruction in sewing, washing, ironing, garment construction, and personal hygiene. One project for boys improved recreational facilities. These young men constructed eighteen softball diamonds, three croquet courts, cleaned and leveled playgrounds, and reconditioned and cleaned various recreation centers. Another workshop instructed boys in drafting, carpentry, painting, bricklaying and plastering. Boys from this program actually built a needed building on the Lincoln Institute campus at Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky. Another program trained young Blacks in recreation. Working on public playgrounds as assistants to city recreation workers or in nursery schools and child care centers, these young people taught games and handicrafts and led nature study programs.

Programs of adult education were also established. Many cities in the State established night schools for adults. Kentucky Blacks were eager to receive this education. In Louisville, an average of five-hundred students attended the night school in 1934, the first year it was established. The following year there were 473 enrolled in literacy classes, 893 in general adult classes, and 277 in vocational schools. The demand for adult education was so strong that a Kentucky workshop for adult education teachers was held during the summer of 1936. Seventy-one teachers from throughout the State attended.

Historical Studies

The collection of local historical material was one interesting federal project which employed many college students and educated black citizens. One group in the south, for example, tried to find Blacks who had been alive before the Civil War. (A slave born in 1850 would have been 80 years old in 1930.) Young scholars interviewed these ex-slaves and asked them to tell as much as they could remember about living under slavery. This Slave Narrative Collection of the W.P.A. Federal Writers Project is available in many libraries and is an absorbing account of what slavery was like by those who knew it best.



SAMUEL PLATO, LOUISVILLE CONTRACTOR, operated a successful contracting business during the depression years.

Another such W.P.A. study was done under the direction of Dr. G.D. Wilson, a professor at Louisville Municipal College. Dr. Wilson sent his workers to find out all they could about the history of black education in Louisville. The results of this study were collected in "A Century of Negro Education," an unpublished manuscript that is now available at the University of Louisville and the Louisville Free Public Libraries.

Financial Institutions

The depression severely affected many black owned businesses and financial institutions. The largest financial institution, Mammoth Life and Accident Insurance Company, survived the depression but the First Standard Bank was forced to close and many black depositors lost their hard-earned savings in this financial disaster.

Although the depression brought severe hardships to many Kentucky Blacks, not all Kentucky Blacks were poor or unemployed.

Samuel Plato

One successful black businessman was Samuel Plato. Plato came to Kentucky in the 1920's after having lived his early years in Marion, Indiana. Plato was a contractor who had his own construction firm. He had learned the essentials of the construction business through a correspondence course. With hard work and great ingenuity, he established his own company.

During the depression, many public buildings were built in order to provide jobs for unemployed men. Samuel Plato's construction company contracted with the federal government to build post offices in several different cities. The firm also built an 88 unit segment of housing for servicemen at Camp Taylor, near Louisville. In 1941, the firm was awarded the contract for a \$1,000,000 defense housing project in Baltimore, Maryland.

Among the buildings in Louisville constructed by Plato Construction Company were the Virginia Avenue School, the Green Street and Lampton Street Baptist Churches, and the AME Zion Church at 13th and Broadway and many beautiful homes ranging upwards of \$50,000 in the vicinity of Southwestern Parkway.

Political Life

The financial depression that began in 1930 marked the end of the solid black Republican vote. The amazing political appeal of Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal reached deeply into the ranks of black Kentucky voters. Many disenchanted Republicans switched their registration to the Democratic column in national elections.

Charles W. Anderson

Aware of these defections, the Republican Party nominated a black candidate for the State Legislature in 1936. Charles W. Anderson was elected to the Kentucky House of Representatives from Louisville and became the first black man to serve in the legislature of a southern state since Reconstruction days.

Anderson was a skillful and highly effective legislator who was re-elected for six consecutive terms. He introduced many bills providing for better education for Kentucky Blacks. He sponsored the measure which outlawed public hanging in Kentucky.

Anderson understood the problems of Kentucky's poor—both black and white—and worked effectively to improve their economic conditions. As a result of his bill enabling married women to teach, a needed extra income was made possible in many families. Anderson also helped improve the lot of Kentucky's



CHARLES W. ANDERSON, KENTUCKY'S FIRST BLACK LEGISLATOR, was elected to six consecutive terms in the State General Assembly.

domestic servants by sponsoring bills providing minimum wages and working condition standards.

Anderson resigned in 1946 to become the Assistant Commonwealth's Attorney for Jefferson County. In 1959, President Eisenhower nominated him to serve as an alternate United States Delegate to the United Nations General Assembly. Through Anderson's untimely death in 1960 in an automobile accident, Kentucky lost one of its most creative public servants.

Summary of Chapter Sixteen

The depression of the 1930's caused great financial hardships to large numbers of Kentucky black citizens. Job training programs and work relief programs sponsored by the federal government, however, provided some Blacks with training and job opportunities that proved to be most beneficial. The fact that white men too, were having employment difficulties gave some white men new insight into the black man's economic plight.

Some Kentucky Blacks were able to take advantage of the opening economic opportunities for black

citizens. One of the most outstanding examples of this process was the black contractor, Samuel Plato. His skill as a contractor resulted in contracts for his company to build large buildings and projects, not only in Kentucky but throughout the United States.

During the 1930's, another Kentucky black man, Charles W. Anderson, became the first black member of a Southern state legislature since Reconstruction days. As a champion of both poor and black Kentuckians, he produced a notable legislative record.

Chapter Seventeen

World War II



FRANK STANLEY, SR., SHOWN INTERVIEWING BLACK SOLDIERS IN MANHEIM, GERMANY, was commissioned by the Secretary of War to study race relations among American occupation troops in 1946. Stanley's report, based on his inspections of troops stationed in 22 European cities, urged that military segregation be ended immediately.

World War II brought significant changes to the lives of Kentucky citizens, black and white. Black men and women from Kentucky served in all branches of the armed services. The shortage of manpower in some areas opened job and job training opportunities to black citizens. Many black civilians received their first industrial jobs working to manufacture tanks or ships or arms and ammunition for

the war effort.

World War II also caused Americans to ask an important question: How could the United States fight against Hitler's Master Race Doctrine abroad and, at the same time, allow widespread discrimination at home?

Civil Rights Issues

Black people began to protest against the treatment of Blacks as second class citizens in a country which claimed to be fighting for freedom and democracy abroad but did not allow Blacks to enjoy freedom at home.

Their protests focused on two main issues:

1. Employment discrimination against Blacks in the defense industries
2. Segregation of the armed forces

A Bread and Butter Issue

The issue of employment discrimination in defense industries was the bread and butter issue of the war years. As we learned in the last chapter, black people were subjected to severe economic hardships during the depression. By 1939, the national economy began to recover and the build-up of defense plants opened up new jobs. These defense plants had been awarded huge government contracts for war materials to be paid for by public funds. Since black as well as white taxpayers contributed taxes to these public funds, black people felt they had a right to employment in these industries.

However, the first factories manufacturing war equipment—guns, ammunition, tanks, ships, and trucks—employed few Blacks. Some plants hired no Blacks at all. In the few factories that did hire Blacks, policy dictated that Blacks be hired only for menial jobs such as janitors and not for skilled positions. Black author and writer, Langston Hughes, described the situation in these words: “On the verge of another war for democracy, the deep roots of prejudice in American life were still effective in keeping the Negro poor, helpless and hungry.”¹

Executive Order on Fair Employment

In 1941, A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, proposed that Blacks from throughout the country march to Washington, D.C., to ask for the right to be employed in the defense industries. Not wanting to risk the



AFTER PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT BANNED DISCRIMINATION IN DEFENSE PLANTS, many new jobs were opened to Blacks. Pictured above is an integrated assembly line at International Harvester's Louisville plant about 1948.

divisions such a march might bring, President Roosevelt asked black leaders to call off the march. In return, Roosevelt issued an Executive Order banning discrimination in defense industries and required that defense contracts contain an anti-discrimination clause. As a follow-up to the Executive Order, Roosevelt established a Fair Employment Practices Committee to investigate charges of discrimination.

While this executive order did not do away with job discrimination, it did open many industrial jobs to black citizens. In Kentucky, as in other parts of the country, many Blacks found jobs other than as janitors for the first time in American industry.

Although black people were hurt economically by employment discrimination, they were also frustrated by the fact that they were not allowed to participate fully in the war effort. Most Blacks supported the war and they wanted to serve their country. However, they deeply resented being forced to serve their country in segregated armed forces.

Military Segregation

Kentucky Blacks entered a segregated army in 1940. United States policy in all branches of the

service was to organize Blacks into separate units. Housing on army bases was segregated. At Camp Breckinridge in Kentucky, for example, the barracks for Blacks were on one side of the parade grounds, the barracks for whites on the other. The black part of the base usually had its own branch exchange and recreation hall.

Often black units were led by white officers. Many reasons for this practice were given by military policy makers. Some said Blacks worked better under white commanders. Others said there were simply not enough black officers to command all the black units. (In 1940, there were only five black officers in the regular army—3 chaplains and 2 combat officers.)² Black leaders, both civilian and military, again and again asked the army to establish an intensive program of recruiting and developing black officers but no such program was ever established.

Black Kentuckians in World War II

As in previous years, Kentucky Blacks responded to the call to fight for their country. Of the 282,198 Kentuckians who were drafted into all branches of the armed forces between 1940 and 1947, there were 20,220 black men—approximately 7% of the total servicemen drafted in Kentucky.³

Some Kentucky Blacks who joined the Army in 1941 were sent to Camp Breckinridge, Kentucky, where they were trained as part of the black 92nd Infantry Division. Units from this division were sent to Europe and fought in the invasion of Italy in 1944.

Other Kentucky Blacks served as members of the 93rd Infantry Division which was sent to fight in the South Pacific. The first black soldier to die in land combat with the Japanese was a Kentuckian, Private Robert Brooks. Black soldiers fought at Guadalcanal and Okinawa and waded ashore with General Douglas MacArthur on his victorious return to the Philippines.

Kentuckians served in engineering units like the black general service regiments that built large sections of the Alcan Highway which ran from Alaska to the Canadian border. Other all-black construction units built airports on South Pacific Islands as those islands were recaptured from the Japanese.

Six hundred black pilots were trained at Tuskegee, Alabama, during the war. The first black Air

Force Squadron, the 99th Pursuit Squadron, was sent to North Africa. There the pilots' bravery in dive-bombing attacks on the enemy caused the group to be called the "Falcon Desert Fighter Group."

Benjamin O. Davis, Jr.

The 99th was commanded by Captain Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., a black career officer who had graduated from West Point in 1936. This young pilot's father had been the first black man to attain the rank of brigadier general in the U.S. Army having been appointed to this rank in October, 1940.

In December, 1943, Davis was appointed Commander of the 332nd Fighter Group which was made up of several black flying units. This group provided air cover for the invading allied troops at Anzio, Italy, and later was awarded the Distinguished Unit Citation for "extraordinary heroism in action" in a raid over Berlin.

By the end of the war, Davis had risen to the rank of Colonel and had received many decorations including the Legion of Merit and the Distinguished



COLONEL BENJAMIN O. DAVIS, JR., the highest ranking black officer in World War II, became commander of Godman Field, Kentucky after the war.

Flying Cross. After the war, he was made Commander of Godman Field, Kentucky, becoming the first Black to command an air base. In 1965, Davis was promoted to lieutenant general and named Chief-of-Staff, United Nations Command in Korea.

Front Line Volunteers

Towards the end of the war, the demand for manpower in the front lines became crucial. In January, 1945, General Eisenhower issued a call for black volunteers to serve as replacements in the front lines. Over 4,000 black volunteers responded within the first month. These volunteers were grouped into platoons which were then sent to fight in previously all-white divisions.

Some people were afraid that the black volunteers would not be accepted by the white soldiers with whom they were to fight. But the courage and skill of the black platoons soon ended all doubt. White soldiers were glad to have the Blacks fighting beside them. As one commander stated: "in courage, coolness, dependability and pride, they (the black troops) are on a par with any white troops I have ever had occasion to work with."⁴

Desegregation of Armed Forces

Throughout the war, Blacks continued to protest the injustices of segregation in the armed forces.

Among the Kentuckians who led such protests was publisher Frank L. Stanley, Sr., who was President of the National Negro Publishers Association. In 1946, Stanley was commissioned by the Secretary of War to study race relations among American occupation troops. Stanley's Commission wrote a scathing report recommending that military segregation be ended immediately.

In July of 1948, President Truman issued an Executive Order barring segregation in the armed forces and creating the President's Committee to end discrimination in the military facilities and units. Truman's Executive Order, occurring six years before the Supreme Court Ruling on desegregation of schools, was one of the first federal actions against segregation.

Seeds of Protest

Protest movements against employment discrimination and segregation of the armed forces, which occurred during World War II, were like the seeds of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950's and 1960's.

After obtaining victory on the two main civil rights issues of World War II, black people could turn their attention to desegregating all areas of civilian life. Chapters 18 through 22 will describe the story of these later battles for equality.

Summary of Chapter Seventeen

During World War II, the two main civil rights issues were employment discrimination in the defense industries and segregation of the armed forces. An Executive Order issued by President Roosevelt gave black Kentuckians the opportunity to work in defense industries. On the home front, other Kentucky Blacks contributed to the war effort by taking part in war bond campaigns.

Although military segregation was not abolished until 1948, black Kentuckians served their country in

all branches of the service. Throughout the war, black units fought in each of the major areas of the war—the South Pacific, North Africa, Italy, and the European mainland. In 1945, volunteer black platoons served as replacements in previously all-white units along the battlefield.

One outstanding black airman was Benjamin O. Davis, Jr. After the war, he commanded Godman Airfield at Fort Knox, Kentucky.

¹Langston Hughes, *Fight for Freedom: the Story of the NAACP*, (New York: Berkley Medallion, 1962) p. 84.

²Pittsburg *Courier*, October 5, 12, 1940

³Kentucky State Selective Service Headquarters, "Final Report of Registrants under the Selective Service and Training Act of 1940 to 1947," Unpublished report in possession of the agency.

Chapter Eighteen

The Demand for Equality



BISHOP C. EUBANK TUCKER (holding newspaper) led a sit-in in the "white only" section of Louisville's bus terminal in 1954.

1945—The Second World War was over and everywhere people were eager to get back to normal. But "normal" would never be the same again—especially not for the black man. For he had been too far and seen too much to go back to where he was before the war.

The returning black soldier who had fought alongside white men on the beaches of Normandy and Iwo Jima faced discrimination in the restaurants of Pikeville and Elizabethtown. The black worker, who had made good wages assembling rifles in a defense industry was not willing to go back to sweeping the floor when the white workers returned to the plants. Black nurses who had worked in field

hospitals in France and North Africa knew they had the qualifications necessary to work in hospitals in Hopkinsville and Lexington. And they weren't willing to accept second-class citizenship any longer.

Today's students will find it difficult to imagine how many areas were closed to Kentucky's black citizens in 1945. Schools, parks, and entertainment facilities were segregated. In most stores, Blacks were not allowed to try on clothes before purchasing them. Even the city government divided the jobs available into "white" and "colored" categories: the "white" jobs were generally clerical positions, the "colored" jobs were more likely to be janitorial jobs.

The Separate but Equal Doctrine

The problem that black leaders faced went back to the Supreme Court decision in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case of 1896. The Court then said that any community had the right to segregate its public facilities as long as it provided *separate but equal* facilities for its black citizens.

Kentucky communities claimed to be providing separate but equal facilities for their black citizens. In practice, however, the facilities available to Blacks were inferior to those available to whites. In Louisville, for example, of 29 municipal parks and playgrounds, 24 were opened to whites, 5 were open to Blacks. The white parks occupied 2,129 acres of land; the black parks 167 acres.

Although Blacks knew that segregation was wrong, the highest court in the land had given segregation its stamp of approval. So Blacks had to attack, not only segregation itself, but also the failure of the community to provide separate but equal facilities.

Blacks hoped that insisting on equality would force desegregation. They thought that ultimately government officials would rather desegregate existing facilities than spend all the money required to maintain separate but equal facilities.

The Fight Against Segregation

One by one rules, regulations, and customs designed to “keep Blacks in their place” were challenged by black citizens.

Each step toward a desegregated society was the final result of constant pressure applied by the black community against the forces of segregation. The pressure took many different forms.

The Louisville Defender

This black-owned newspaper with state-wide circulation, was a major factor in this struggle. The newspaper wrote stories about discrimination against Blacks and urged its readers to protest this discrimination. Frank Stanley, Sr., the editor, interviewed public figures and constantly reminded them about the needs of Kentucky’s black citizens.

NAACP

The local NAACP Chapters were also very active in this crusade for equal rights. More than half of Kentucky’s NAACP Chapters were organized in the period between 1945 and 1955. These groups encouraged their members to file law suits which charged public agencies with discriminatory practices. Money to pay the legal fees involved in court battles was often raised by the membership. Local chapters also organized letter-writing campaigns, urging their members to write letters of praise to public officials who took steps toward desegregation and letters of complaint to those officials who refused to take such steps.

KNEA

The Kentucky Negro Education Association, founded in 1877, also worked towards full equality for all black citizens. For many reasons, the black teacher has occupied more of a leadership role in his community than his white counterpart has occupied. KNEA leaders were among the first to see that the segregation barriers had to be broken down in order to have the best education possible for all Kentucky’s children. The KNEA was one of the first state organizations to desegregate. In 1950, acting on a



CONTRIBUTING TO THE EFFORTS OF THE KENTUCKY NEGRO EDUCATION ASSOCIATION to upgrade the quality of education for black children were many outstanding black educators. This photograph, taken at a state-wide KNEA meeting includes (standing, left to right) A.E. Meyzeek, Rufus B. Atwood, H.C. Russell, S.L. Barker, Eugene Goodloe, William H. Perry, Jr., W.O. Nuckolls. Other persons in the group are (front row, left to right) D.H. Anderson, Whitney M. Young, Sr., Atwood S. Wilson, and Lucy Harth Smith.

suggestion introduced by its President, Dr. Whitney M. Young, Sr., the Association voted to change its name to Kentucky Teachers' Association in order to admit white teachers to its membership.

Churches

Churches and church leaders were also in the forefront of the civil rights struggles. The church had always been an effective force for social change in the black community. Clergymen had led the fight for black education before and just after the Civil War.

Protesters marched from Quinn Chapel, A.M.E. Church to integrate Louisville streetcars in 1870. Money to finance the successful fight against segregated housing in 1914 was raised in that same chapel. Protesters marched again from Quinn Chapel in 1961 to express demands for a public accommodations ordinance and again in 1967 to dramatize the need for an open housing ordinance.

Quinn Chapel was used as a central meeting place because it was located in the heart of what was then Louisville's black community. Many of the programs that were held there were planned and led by cooperating clergymen from churches located in the outlying areas.

Methods

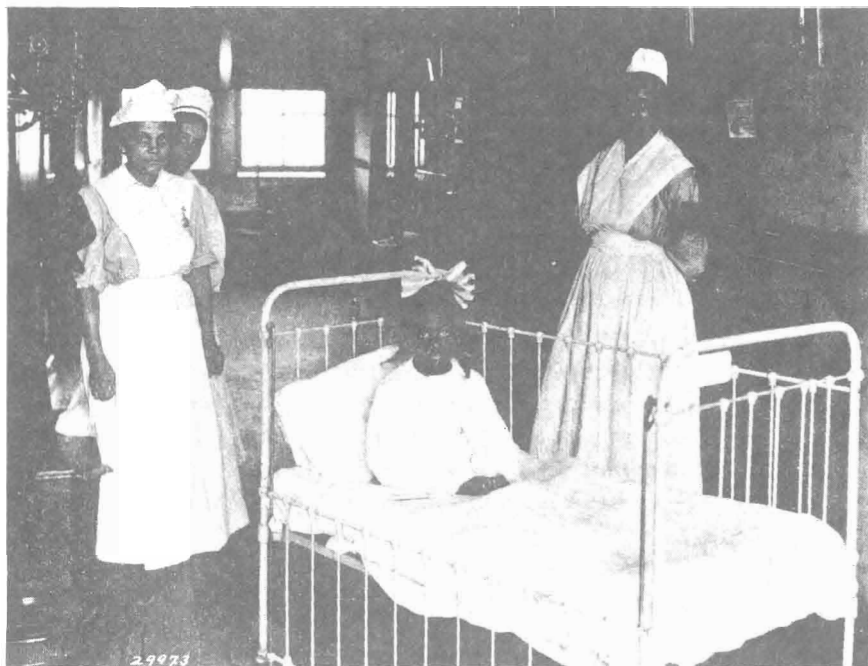
To describe all the ways in which Kentucky's

black citizens worked to obtain their constitutional rights in the period after World War II would be impossible in this short booklet. A few examples will indicate the variety of methods used:

In 1945, when Henderson Blacks learned that no state law prohibited their using the state parks, a large group of black families simply paid the required admission fee and entered Audubon Park.

In 1947, when he was not allowed to play golf on a city-owned golf course, Doctor P.O. Sweeney, with the backing of the Louisville NAACP, filed suit against the City of Louisville. In 1952 after many court hearings and appeals, Federal Judge Roy Shelbourne ruled that the City of Louisville must allow Dr. Sweeney and other Blacks to play golf on city-owned courses until separate-but-equal courses were provided for Blacks. On a brisk January Sunday, a number of black golfers enjoyed their first golf games on Louisville courses.

In 1951, the Interracial Hospital Movement presented petitions bearing 10,000 signatures to Governor Lawrence W. Wetherby asking the Governor to open all tax-supported and tax-exempt hospitals to all Kentucky citizens. The petitioners told the story of one black man who was injured in an automobile accident and taken to Breckinridge County Hospital. There he was refused care and died in the emergency room. Hospital authorities later sent a bill for \$11.00 to his widow for the "use of the emergency room."



MOST KENTUCKY HOSPITALS MAINTAINED A POLICY OF SEGREGATING PATIENTS ACCORDING TO RACE. A few hospitals in the State refused to admit black patients for medical care even in emergency cases.

Employment

In April, 1951, Harry S. McAlpin, Louisville NAACP President, attacked a want-ad placed by the City of Louisville which stated, "Civil Service needs Fire-Fighters and Police Patrolmen. White—\$220; Typist, White—\$152; Electrician, White—\$194; Maintenance Worker, White—\$135; and Hospital Attendants, White and Colored, \$105. Apply 300 City Hall."

On May 5, the Board of Aldermen recommended that the City's discriminatory advertising and hiring practices be discontinued. However, on May 26, the Louisville Civil Service Board refused to change hiring policies. Some Louisville department heads agreed to hire black applicants for previously "white" positions but others refused to take such action. Not until 1954 was the issue finally resolved when newly elected Mayor Andrew Broaddus declared that all civil service jobs in the city would be filled without regard to race.

In 1952, when the telephone company would not hire black women as operators and clerks, black men and women throughout Kentucky began paying their monthly telephone bills in pennies. As the pennies began to pile up in the company office, taking untold hours of valuable time to count and process, tele-

MRS. W. H. FAUS OF LEXINGTON (right) holds the certificate appointing her to serve on the Kentucky Commission for the Study of Negro Affairs, created in 1944 by Governor Simeon Willis.

This bi-racial Commission, the first special Commission in the South to focus attention on the problems of black people, was instructed "to obtain and study the facts and conditions relating to the economic, educational, housing, health, and other needs for the betterment of the Negro citizens in Kentucky."

To direct this work, the Commission elected J. Mansir Tydings as its chairman; William H. Perry (Secretary of KNEA) as its co-chairman; and Robert E. Black (Secretary of the Louisville Urban League) as its secretary.

Emphasizing the greatest barrier to the advancement of black people in Kentucky was segregation, the Commission recommended the enactment of legislation to: abolish "Jim Crow" policies on trains; amend the Day Law so black students could attend professional and post graduate schools, require non-discrimination provisions in State contracts and public projects.

phone officials began to listen to the demands of Blacks for equal employment opportunities.

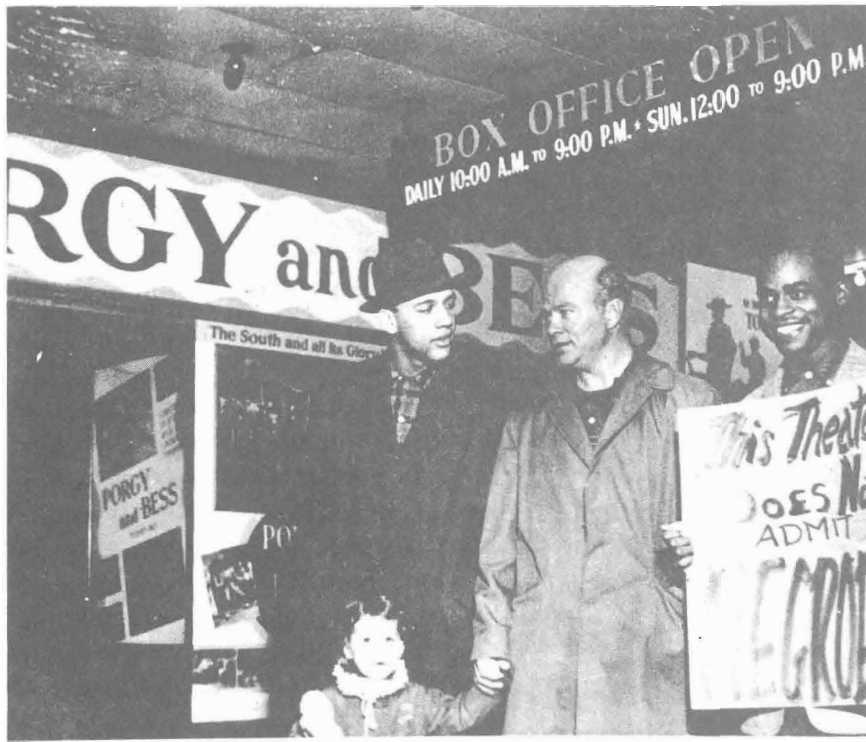
Housing

The first attempt of a black family to move into a new all-white subdivision in Louisville ended in disaster. In the spring of 1954, a white couple, Carl and Ann Braden, bought a newly constructed house in the Shively area and sold it to a black couple, Andrew and Charlotte Wade. White neighbors in the area were very angry.

After the Wades moved into their house, they were subjected to threatening phone calls and letters. A cross was burned in the field next to the house. That same night someone with a rifle shot through the house. Windows were broken but fortunately no one was injured by the shots. About six weeks later, the house was partially destroyed by a bomb.

Those who terrorized the Wades were never apprehended. Instead, the attention of the city was focused upon the white couple who sold Wade the house. After a grand jury investigation, Carl Braden was tried and convicted on a charge of sedition. He served seven months in prison before the Kentucky Court of Appeals reversed his conviction. The Wade family did not move back into their damaged house.





AN INTEGRATED PICKET LINE AT LOUISVILLE'S BROWN THEATRE protesting the showing of "Porgy and Bess" to all-white audiences.

Summary of Chapter Eighteen

The period between 1945 and 1954 was a period of increasing agitation on the part of the black community for constitutional rights. Black leaders demanded that local governments either live up to their pledge to provide separate but equal facilities for black citizens or allow those black citizens to use community facilities. Blacks attacked job discrimination on the basis of race.

This battle was fought on many fronts, by many different individuals and organizations. Progress was sometimes very slow. Dr. Sweeney waited five years for his golf game. Two young men who applied for admission to Paducah Junior College in 1949 were not able to be admitted until 1953. By that time they

had been drafted and were receiving a different type of education from Uncle Sam.

Segregation barriers did fall during this period. Some parks and libraries were opened to all. Racial restrictions on city jobs in Louisville were removed. Many tax-supported hospitals hired black nurses and accepted black patients.

Although some barriers fell, many others remained. At this point many people felt that desegregation of educational facilities would be the quickest route to an open society. The next chapter discusses the battle for equal rights in education.

Timetable on Louisville Desegregation

The following timetable on desegregation in Louisville will give some idea of the scope and magnitude of the discrimination faced by black leaders in Kentucky's largest city.

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| <p>1941: Salaries of all teachers in city equalized when the differential of 15% between wages of white and black teachers was eliminated. As a result of Louisville's success, the movement to equalize teachers' salaries, spread to other communities across the state.</p> <p>1941: Black nurses were given some of their training at General Hospital.</p> <p>1943: Safety Director, Joseph F. Donaldson, doubled the size of the black police force and named three sergeants.</p> <p>1947: Four black ministers asked by Mayor Frank E. Leland Taylor to permit Blacks to use all the city parks. Mayor declined on the grounds that this action might touch off a race riot.</p> <p>1948: Augustus W. Edwards appointed the first black Police Lieutenant.</p> <p>1951: Louisville Municipal College closed and admission to the University of Louisville opened to all races. Dr. Charles H. Parrish, Jr., became the University's first black faculty member.</p> <p>1951: Federal Judge Roy M. Shelbourne ruled that Blacks must be allowed to play golf on city courses or the city must provide separate facilities.</p> <p>1952: Trustees of Louisville Free Public Library voted to open all branches of the library to all persons.</p> | <p>1952: Two black girls accepted for nurses training at St. Joseph Infirmary.</p> <p>1953: Black girls accepted for nurses training at Louisville General Hospital, St. Anthony's Hospital and SS. Mary and Elizabeth Hospital.</p> <p>1953: Blacks allowed to attend three-week performance of <i>The Tall Kentuckian</i> (a tribute to Abraham Lincoln) at the Iroquois Amphitheater. But after this play, they were again excluded from the amphitheater.</p> <p>1954: Theatrical Association voted to sell tickets to anyone.</p> <p>1954: Mayor Broaddus announced that all civil service jobs in city departments and agencies would be filled without distinction because of race.</p> <p>1955: All city parks, swimming pools, amphitheatre opened by order of Mayor Broaddus.</p> <p>1956: Louisville public schools began desegregation.</p> <p>1960: Brown Theater picketed by NAACP youths and white friends for playing <i>Porgy and Bess</i> to white-only audience.</p> <p>1962: Louisville Human Relations Commission established.</p> <p>1963: Louisville Public Accommodations Law passed.</p> <p>1965: Louisville Equal Employment Ordinance passed.</p> <p>1967: Louisville Open Housing Ordinance passed.</p> |
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Chapter Nineteen

College and University Desegregation

AS A RESULT OF A FEDERAL SUIT FILED BY LYMAN JOHNSON (right), the University of Kentucky began desegregating its graduate facilities in 1949.

A year after the Federal Court ordered the University of Kentucky to open its graduate and professional schools to Blacks, Kentucky passed an amendment to the Day Law permitting students of both races to attend the same institutions of higher learning.



Black veterans returning from World War II, found Kentucky universities still strictly segregated. Those Blacks who wanted to use the G.I. Bill to continue their education could do so only at Kentucky State in Frankfort or at Louisville Municipal College. There was no place in Kentucky where black students could receive graduate training so they could become doctors, lawyers, dentists, or engineers.

Opportunities for vocational courses, too, were very limited. The only vocational courses open to Blacks in Louisville, for example, were courses in secretarial work, barbering, beauty culture, and radio repair from a few small, commercially operated schools.

Changing the Day Law

The Day Law was still an obstacle. Since 1904,

when the Day Law was passed, educating white and black students on a single campus had been considered illegal in Kentucky. Even politicians who favored integrated education felt that to tamper with the Day Law would be political dynamite.

Tuition Payment Plan (1936-1939)

This same problem had existed before the war. The tuition payment plan of 1936 was an attempt by the State to provide some graduate study opportunities for Kentucky Blacks. Under this plan, the State would pay the tuition for Kentucky Blacks to study at out-of-state universities when the courses of study they wanted were not available within the state.

Although a few black students were able to study at some of the nation's finest universities, funds for

this program were limited. Only a very small number of black students could afford to pay the many expenses (transportation, books, room and board) that were involved in attending an out-of-state institution.

Although the original appropriation for tuition payment was exhausted in 1939, some money from the governor's emergency fund was provided to continue the program for a very few students. Many people felt, however, that opportunities for higher education could be more available to black people only if all Kentucky colleges were integrated.

Desegregation of Nursing Schools and Hospital Training Programs

A small group of citizens including black leaders Rufus B. Atwood, Whitney Young, Sr., Frank Stanley, Sr., and white leaders, J. Mansir Tydings and Hugh Brimm, discussed how the process of desegregating Kentucky schools could begin.

They believed that desegregation might most easily be obtained on the post-graduate level. There were far fewer colleges than high schools in Kentucky and public objection to the desegregation of those colleges would probably not be as strong as it would be to the desegregation of the high schools.

Their decision was to start with nursing schools. Since many Kentucky communities had a shortage of trained nurses, a way to provide more nurses would be viewed with favor.

Furthermore, many felt that one of the strongest objections to desegregated education was the fear of racial intermarriage. Since the nursing schools had only women students, desegregating those schools would mean integration of those races, but not integration of the sexes.

The first amendment to the Day Law came in 1948 when black Representative, Charles A. Anderson placed a bill before the General Assembly which provided that nursing schools could accept members of both races. The legislature amended the bill to include post-graduate courses for doctors in hospitals so that black physicians could take their residencies at white hospitals in Kentucky. Even those who had worked on this bill were amazed at the favorable vote it received—only one representative

voted against it and in the Senate it received unanimous support.

Schools of nursing throughout the state began to open their doors to black students. Using the provisions of this bill, Dr. Maurice Rabb of Louisville was able to study anesthesiology at the Louisville General Hospital and became the first black physician to practice that specialty in the city.

U. of K. Courses at Kentucky State

Efforts to desegregate the University of Kentucky began as early as 1936 while Charles Anderson was serving as the first black member of the legislature since Reconstruction. An interracial committee met with Governor A.B. Chandler, then serving his first term, to obtain his support. Governor Chandler's answer was a prediction that "Such will not happen in your time nor mine."

Students continued to urge the University of Kentucky to open its graduate school to them since Kentucky State College offered no graduate classes. In 1948, the Board of Trustees of the University met with the State Board of Education which was the governing body of Kentucky State College at that time. These two bodies decided upon a new plan to make post-graduate work available to black students.

Any graduate course of the University of Kentucky would be available to qualified black applicants at Kentucky State College at Frankfort. To offer the courses, University of Kentucky professors had to drive from Lexington for each class. In the fall of 1948, six members of the Kentucky law faculty drove back and forth to Frankfort to instruct one black law student, John Hatch, who had been refused admission to the University's Law School.

Desegregation of U.K. Graduate School

In 1949, as a result of a Federal Court suit by Louisville civil rights leader Lyman T. Johnson, the University was desegregated.

In 1948, Lyman T. Johnson, a teacher in the Louisville public school system with a Master's degree from the University of Michigan, applied to the Graduate School at the University of Kentucky. He refused to attend the special classes for blacks at

Frankfort. University of Kentucky authorities denied him admission to the Lexington campus.

With continuing support from the Louisville NAACP, he then took his case to Federal Court charging that the State did not provide separate but equal facilities for graduate students. One of the attorneys for Johnson's case was Thurgood Marshall, now a U.S. Supreme Court Justice. In March, 1949, Judge H. Church Ford ordered the University of Kentucky to admit Blacks to the College of Law, Engineering, Pharmacy, and the Graduate School since Kentucky State did not offer these courses. The following summer, thirty black students enrolled in the classes at the Lexington campus.

Trying to maintain separation of the races, the University set aside specific desks or tables marked "Reserved for Special Students," in classrooms and the cafeteria. Many black students refused to sit at those tables, claiming that they would be the last to accept "special privileges" denied other students. Protests against the separation of black students also came from some white students who joined their black classmates in the back of the classrooms and at the special cafeteria tables. The signs were soon removed, and thus, the University of Kentucky graduate and professional schools were desegregated.

Paducah Junior College

Encouraged by the success of Lyman Johnson's case against the University of Kentucky, the NAACP Chapter in Paducah decided that the time was ripe to try to integrate the Paducah Junior College, an institution supported by city taxes. Accordingly, on September 12, 1949, a local attorney, Joseph S. Freeland, appeared in the Dean's Office with a black student who desired admission to the college.

When the application was turned down because the student was black, Freeland filed suit in the United States District Court. Claiming that the city of Paducah did not offer any separate but equal facilities for college training for black students in Paducah, Freeland argued that black students must be allowed to attend Paducah College.

On October 27, 1950, Federal Judge Roy Shelbourne upheld this claim and ordered the college to admit the students. The college replied that the Day Law prohibited such admittance, and appealed, finally, to the United States Sixth Circuit Court at

Cincinnati. This court did not announce its verdict until February, 1953, at which time it upheld Judge Shelbourne's ruling that the students must be admitted. (The Court did not rule on the question of the constitutionality of the Day Law.) On June 9, 1953, four black students enrolled without incident at Paducah Junior College.

Day Law Amended

In 1950, the Kentucky General Assembly further amended the Day Law to permit students of both races to attend the same institution of higher education providing that the governing body of the institution approved and that a comparable course was not taught at Kentucky State College.

This amendment was handled by Jesse H. Lawrence, the only black representative in the legislature. With the support of citizens of both races, Lawrence succeeded in obtaining the passage of this legislation.

Immediately after the amendment was passed in March, 1950, Bellarmine College, Nazareth College, and Ursuline College opened their doors to black students. Shortly afterward, the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary and the Louisville Presbyterian Seminary took the same action. In keeping with its traditions, Berea College was among the first Kentucky Colleges to desegregate.

Because the University of Louisville had a student enrollment of nearly 7,000 students, the speedy desegregation of this large educational institution was an important objective for the city's black community.

Closely observing the situation at the University of Louisville were officials of the local NAACP, which had prepared a suit to be filed in the event that the University attempted to delay the desegregation process. However, it never became necessary to file this suit.

The University of Louisville Trustees voted to open the graduate and professional schools immediately (Summer 1950) and the rest of the University beginning with the 1951-52 school year. Meanwhile the Louisville Municipal College would remain open for one more year and would close down June, 1951.

Southern Regional Compact

In 1950, Kentucky planned to join the Southern Regional Compact in order to participate with other southern states in cooperative programs in certain areas of higher education. Fearing that Kentucky participation in this program might extend segregation, a group of black citizens, Dr. J.A.C. Lattimore, A.E. Meyzeek, Frank L. Stanley, Sr., and Charles Steele, protested to Governor Earle C. Clements. As a result of their efforts, Kentucky participation in the Southern Regional Compact was not used to force black students to go outside the State for courses available in Kentucky Colleges.

Advantages of Desegregation

The desegregation of the University of Louisville in 1951, taken in conjunction with the opening of the Catholic Colleges the year before, offered many advantages to black students. They were able to choose from a wider range of courses. They were able to receive their undergraduate and graduate school training from the same institution in fields such as medicine and law. They were able to meet and exchange ideas with a greater variety of students than was possible at the segregated Municipal College. In spite of the higher tuition cost on Belknap Campus, there was no decline in the percentage of Central High School graduates attending college.

Municipal Faculty

During the last year of the operation of the Municipal College its staff had been reduced to fourteen persons including two librarians and an administrative assistant. Seven of these faculty persons had contracts with the University extending

beyond the closing date of the Municipal College. Four professors (Drs. William Bright, C.H. Parrish, G.D. Wilson and H.S. Wilson) had indeterminate contracts and could not be legally dismissed except for gross inefficiency. Nonetheless, letters of dismissal were sent in October, 1950.

After receiving these letters the faculty members secured a legal opinion as to their position and on its basis prepared their case for presentation before the Board of Trustees. As a result of the hearing a compromise agreement was reached. The Board would keep one of the professors with tenure on the University staff and would grant 2 months of severance pay to all the faculty members. Two professors who had tenure would be granted one year's severance pay. Fellowships provided by the Ford Foundation would be made available to any faculty members who wanted to do further study.

Realizing that a court fight might arouse antagonisms that would interfere with the orderly desegregation of the University, the Municipal faculty accepted the Board of Trustees' proposal. Dr. Charles H. Parrish, Jr., was selected to remain on the University faculty as professor of Social Science. Dr. Parrish's title was changed to Professor of Sociology during the spring semester of 1952 and in 1959, he was named chairman of the Sociology Department of the University.

Some of the municipal faculty members remained in Louisville in other positions. One man, Dr. G.D. Wilson, was hired by Kentucky State College. Another, Dr. H.S. Wilson, after a short stint with an insurance company, became chairman of the chemistry department of Bellarmine College. Most of the faculty, however, left the state; and Kentucky lost some of its leading black educators.

Summary of Chapter Nineteen

Desegregation of higher education in Kentucky began on a very limited basis in 1948 with the passage of a law allowing integrated education in hospitals and nursing schools. Following this, a suit in federal court directed against the University of Kentucky resulted in the ruling that the University must open its graduate and professional schools to black applicants.

Another court ruling ordered Paducah Junior College to accept black applicants. Finally, a 1950

resolution passed by the General Assembly allowed integrated higher education for courses of study not offered at Kentucky State College. Many private colleges desegregated after this decision.

The desegregation of the University of Louisville provided Blacks with many educational advantages, but the desegregation process eliminated all but one of the teaching positions and thus had the immediate result of forcing several excellent black educators to leave the state.

Chapter Twenty

Public School Desegregation



THIS INTEGRATED GROUP OF 1958 BEREA FOUNDATION STUDENTS were participants in a special program for high school students. Berea College had re-opened its doors to black students in 1950 after an amendment to the Day Law permitted desegregation of Kentucky's colleges and universities. However, not until 1954 when the Supreme Court declared segregated schools unconstitutional were students of both races allowed to attend the same secondary and elementary schools in Kentucky.

In the early 1950's, Kentucky's black leaders had concentrated their efforts on desegregation of higher education in the State. But they were also concerned about public education at the elementary and high school levels.

The segregated system of public education caused problems and inconveniences for Kentucky's black students. According to Kentucky law, black and white students were required to attend separate schools. Even if a white school were less crowded or better equipped or closer to their homes than a black school, black students were not allowed to enroll there. In counties where the black population was small, many black high school students had to travel

eight or ten miles to reach their schools, often passing several white schools on the way. When the black population of a county was extremely small, black students were sent to school in an adjacent county or to Lincoln Institute in Shelby County.

In some communities, the schools provided for black students were obviously inferior to those schools attended by whites. While white students went to school in a brand new building, black students might attend classes in a one-room school. However, even when the facilities of white and black schools were similar, black people maintained that the very existence of separate school systems was a badge of second-class citizenship.

Public Support for Repealing Day Law

Public support for school desegregation increased during the period from 1950 to 1954, among whites as well as Blacks. In the winter of 1953-54, an organization called the Committee for Democratic Schools began circulating petitions for repeal of the Day Law.

A bill repealing the Day Law was introduced in the General Assembly in 1954. A public hearing was held on the bill. Testifying at the hearing were a variety of people, black and white, including ministers, labor leaders, teachers, and students. White students from newly re-integrated Berea College told how well desegregation was working there.

While the bill did not pass, the hearing and the interracial campaigns to obtain desegregation helped create an atmosphere which assisted Kentucky's officials in complying with the Supreme Court decision of May, 1954.

Segregated Education Declared Unconstitutional

On May 17, 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court by a 9-0 decision, ruled that school segregation was unconstitutional because "separate education facilities are inherently unequal." In this historic *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling, Chief Justice Earl Warren said, "We conclude that in the field of public education, the doctrine of separate but equal has no place."

The Supreme Court decision, which echoed what black leaders had been maintaining for years, led the nation and Kentucky into an era of changes. Kentucky reaction to the ruling was swift and positive. "Kentucky will do whatever is necessary to comply with the law," announced Governor Lawrence W. Wetherby. Attorney General J.D. Buckman, Jr., announced that the Supreme Court decision nullified the Day Law so that no legal barrier to desegregation in Kentucky remained.

Early Questions

Most Kentucky educators considered school desegregation a difficult and complicated task. In 1954, Kentucky had 155 school districts which had black students. Each district was controlled by a local school board.

Even if local school boards and school administrators were totally committed to the principle of integration, the administrative problem of desegregation would have demanded considerable effort. There were many decisions to be made. Should the board desegregate the high schools first? Or would it be easier to start with the grade schools? Or to desegregate the entire system at once? What about teachers? Should pupil desegregation precede teacher desegregation or both be done together? If the black schools were simply closed, what would happen to the black teachers?

Black parents had questions. In most cases, black students would be going to classes where the majority of the students were white. How would the black children be accepted? Would their classmates be cruel to them? How would white teachers treat the black students? Would the black child's father lose his job if he sent his children to a formerly all white school? Might the family suffer physical harm?

These were some of the real and imagined issues with which some superintendents and school boards delayed desegregation in the first years after the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

In practically every case, those who moved ahead found positive solutions to these problems and their schools desegregated with surprising ease. Within two years after the announcement of the Supreme Court decision, a majority of Kentucky black students were attending schools in districts that had begun desegregation.

Factors in Speeding the Process

Among the factors which significantly influenced Kentucky school desegregation were:

1. The percentage of Blacks in the overall student population was small (in comparison with states farther south, for example). In only a few districts were more than 20% of the students black. Thus in most cases, desegregation meant a small number of black students going to predominantly white schools.
2. The State had already begun desegregation on the college level. Some Kentucky teachers had attended summer school on campuses that had desegregated classes.

3. A background of interracial cooperation existed on a statewide level and in many local communities. The State Board of Education had predicted the Supreme Court's decision and had begun to prepare for the inevitability of desegregation. A private organization, the Kentucky Council on Human Relations, set up a desegregation consultation service for local communities.
4. School desegregation made economic sense. The cost of maintaining two separate schools in some districts made per pupil school costs far higher than they would be in a single school. Since school boards rarely have enough money to provide the kind of education the voters would like to see for their children, the boards tended to favor the financial savings desegregation offered.
5. The Kentucky NAACP applied effective legal pressure by filing court suits to obtain desegregation in school systems that did not develop desegregation plans. In December, 1955, the NAACP lawyer James Crumlin, filed the first such suit. The next three years saw a succession of court suits to force desegregation.
6. As was true of the Ku Klux Klan in the twenties, the White Citizens Councils did not attract a large number of people or substantial support in the fifties in Kentucky. The prevalent attitude on the part of most citizens seemed to be, "I'm not really in favor of school desegregation, but since the Supreme Court said that is the law, I guess Kentucky will have to go along with it."
7. Governmental leaders and politicians agreed that Kentucky would follow the Supreme Court directive. Both Democratic Senator Earle C. Clements and Republican Senator John Sherman Cooper agreed that Kentucky must abide by this new ruling. While 1955 was an election year, both candidates for Governor indicated that they would support the Supreme Court decision so that desegregation did not become a major issue in the election campaign.

Desegregated Schools—1955

A few days after the Brown decision, one black Fayette County student enrolled in the summer school session at Lafayette, previously an all-white

school. However, full scale plans for desegregation did not go into effect until the summer of 1955.

The first Kentucky schools to open on a desegregated basis were those of Wayne County. In July 1955, County Superintendent Ira Bell announced that black students would be admitted to the white schools nearest them. In August these schools opened without incident.

In September 1955, the Lexington and Fayette County schools, with a total of 14,410 white students and 3,284 black students, desegregated with a freedom of choice plan. Students were free to register at any school they chose. Five black teachers were assigned to teach at formerly all white schools. They were not given regular classes but served as librarians, resource teachers, or had other special assignments.

Without fanfare, Knobb City High School, which served the black students of Russellville, was closed in the fall of 1955. Those black students were sent to Russellville High School. The schools in Prestonsburg and Owensboro also opened in September, 1955, with partial desegregation plans. In Prestonsburg, all but two of the schools were desegregated. In Owensboro, black students were allowed to attend the white high school for classes not available in their own school.

Desegregated Schools—1956

The greatest number of Kentucky pupils entered desegregated schools for the first time in the fall of 1956. That year, about 75 per cent of the State's school districts announced some kind of desegregation plans. About 50 per cent of Kentucky's school age black children were enrolled in desegregated systems.

On September 10, 1956, school began in the desegregated Louisville School District. School Superintendent Omer Carmichael described what happened at Male High School where he was observing.

"Before any pupils arrived, the group assembled at Male included Mayor Broadus, School Board President Spears, Assistant Superintendent W.F. Croslow, Male Principal W.S. Milburn—and a throng of reporters and photographers representing newspapers, news magazines and radio and television



MALE HIGH SCHOOL, which was all white before Louisville schools began desegregation, is now predominantly black.

stations, local and national. The preceding week had seen the outbreak of racial violence in several cities attempting desegregation and the press was fully aware that Louisville was the largest city on their list of potential trouble spots.

"But there was no trouble! . . . The first pupils came singly or in small groups, some laughing and gay, some solemnly alert or inquisitive. Most of them went promptly into the building, but a few lingered outside . . . At about 8:20 Chief Heustis asked if I didn't think he should order the pupils to go into the building. I replied that a pre-school gathering was natural, the group was well-behaved and the warning bell would ring in a few minutes. It seemed better to me to have everything go along naturally, if possible.

Five minutes later the warning bell rang. And all the students, white and Negro went into the building as on any other opening day."²

The Louisville Plan

The Louisville school desegregation plan of 1956, which was copied by many of the nation's school systems, had three basic features:

1. desegregation of all grade levels,

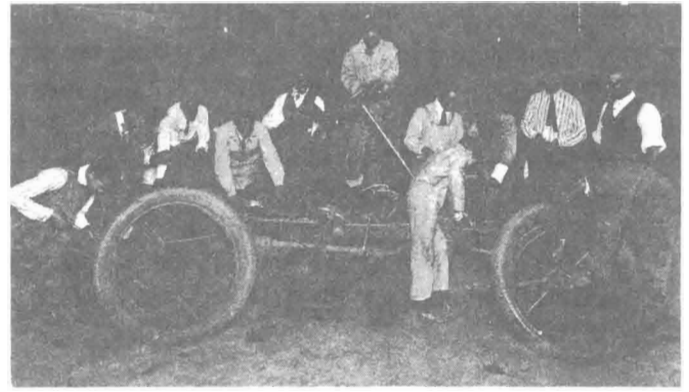
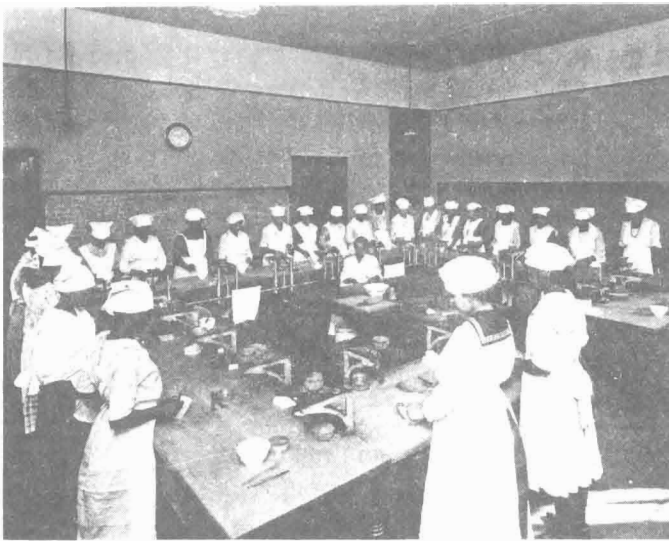
2. redistricting of the entire school district "to serve all children as conveniently as possible without regard to race." After redistricting was completed, all parents were sent written notification of the school to which their child was assigned.
3. establishment of a freedom of choice plan under which any parent, black or white, could request to transfer his child to other schools. Transfers were granted unless the school which the student wanted to attend was filled with students from its own district.

When this school desegregation plan was put into operation, segregated housing patterns did exist in Louisville. However, in the West and Central areas of the city, many neighborhoods had a checkerboard pattern. That is, several blocks occupied by white families were adjacent to several blocks occupied by black families. Because of the checkerboard patterns, many of the newly created school districts in the West End and Central areas of the city included students of both races.

However, some parents decided to transfer their children to different schools than those to which they had been originally assigned. Eleven percent of the total school population requested transfers the first year. In most cases, they received transfers to their first choice schools.

Transfer requests for the 1956-57 school year reveal an interesting pattern. Of black children assigned to formerly all-white schools, the parents of 45 per cent requested transfers back to formerly black schools. Of white children assigned by redistricting to formerly all-black schools, the parents of 85 per cent requested transfers back to formerly all-white schools. Although the "freedom of choice" plan could have been used by students of both races to promote school desegregation, these figures indicate that many white parents requested transfers because they wanted to keep their children in predominantly white schools. Such transfers resulted in significant delays in the desegregation process.

Central High School, which had been the only senior high school which black students could attend before 1956, remained all black. Despite the fact that attending other high schools would have been more convenient for many black students, few Central



CLASSES IN HOME ECONOMICS AND AUTO MECHANICS AT CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL. Before 1956, all black senior high school students in Louisville were enrolled at Central.

students transferred to the five formerly all-white high schools in the city. Many people believe that the school's transfer rate was low because Central had the newest and best equipped school facilities of any city high school. Approximately, one-hundred black students, promoted from junior high schools, chose to enroll at formerly all white senior high schools located in the districts where they lived.

Sturgis High School

While pupil desegregation proceeded with a minimum of difficulty in most Kentucky schools, there were some trouble spots. On August 31, 1956, eight black students enrolled at the previously all-white Sturgis High School. When they attempted to attend classes on September 4, a crowd of local citizens blocked the way. Deciding not to try to force their way through the crowd, the black students returned to their homes. Next day, Governor A.B. Chandler ordered the State Police and National Guard to Sturgis. With 200 guardsmen and 20 state policemen as protectors, the black students attended school for several days. Many white students stayed home from school.

At the same time, a similar confrontation was taking place at Clay, Kentucky, in Webster County. There almost all the white students boycotted the grade school when two black students enrolled. The National Guard kept order outside an almost empty school.

Finally on September 13, State Attorney General Jo M. Ferguson ruled that since the Webster County School Board had made no provisions for an "orderly process" of school desegregation, the black students

could not be admitted until the School Board made adequate plans. After several days in which black students attended classes in Sturgis with National Guard support, Ferguson ruled on September 19, that the Clay ruling could apply in Sturgis also.

James A. Crumlin, Louisville NAACP lawyer, immediately filed suit against both Clay and Sturgis school systems in the Federal District Court. The suit asked the court to enforce desegregation of these schools.

On December 12, Federal Judge Henry Brooks directed the two school boards to file their desegregation plans with the court by February 4. Both school boards established desegregation procedures. The following September, Sturgis High School and the schools of Webster County were open to black students.

Henderson

The White Citizen Councils, which organized the opposition to school desegregation in Clay and Sturgis tried to take similar action in Henderson. Although Henderson schools had opened on a desegregated basis in September, 1956, a White Citizens Council meeting led to a walkout of about 400 white children from Weaverton Elementary School on September 22. The boycott spread to two city schools where about 180 students stayed out of school.

Two Henderson ministers, C. Sumpter Logan (Presbyterian Church) and Ted Braun (Evangelical and Reformed Church) led community efforts to encourage school attendance. Hecht Lackey of local

radio station WSON broadcast hourly pleas for law and order. Henderson citizens responded to this leadership and the desegregated schools remained open.

To avert further trouble in already desegregated school districts, the leaders of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations asked the Kentucky Attorney General to clarify the legal situation. He ruled that school districts could not resegregate themselves once their desegregation had begun. Furthermore, he ruled, those who attempted to interfere with the desegregation process might be charged with conspiracy under an old Kentucky statute.

This ruling, along with the successful effort of the Henderson citizens severely crippled the activities of the White Citizens Councils in Kentucky and they never gained a real foothold in the State.

By the fall of 1956, most of Kentucky's urban schools had begun some kind of pupil desegregation.

But there were still many districts which had announced no school desegregation plans. Black and white leaders alike felt that some kind of outside pressure would be necessary to begin the desegregation process in these areas.

Black leaders turned to legal pressure. Representing black parents in districts which had not announced desegregation plans, Kentucky NAACP President, Attorney James A. Crumlin, began to file suits asking the federal courts to end segregation. In December, 1955, federal District Judge Mac Swinford ruled that Adair County High School must open to black pupils by February, 1956, since the county made no other provisions for the education of black high school students. The county's elementary schools were to open on a desegregated basis by September, 1956.

A suit filed in July, 1956, charged that the Owensboro twelve year desegregation plan was "inadequate" and lacked "deliberate speed." The District Court Judge ruled that Owensboro must revise its plan to complete desegregation more quickly.

During the next ten years, NAACP attorneys James A. Crumlin and Joseph Freeland filed federal court suits to desegregate schools in the following districts:

Scott, Fulton, McCracken, Hopkins, Owen, Richmond, Madison, Jessamine, Mayfield, Frankfort, Bowling Green, Warren, and Knott.

In each case, the federal judge ordered pupil desegregation and in six cases, teacher desegregation.

Teacher Desegregation

In many areas, black teachers became the real losers in the desegregation process. They faced two problems:

1. Many black teachers lost their positions when the black schools in which they were teaching were closed.
2. The rate at which black teachers were transferred to desegregated faculties was very slow.

Let us look more closely at these problems:

1. Lost Positions

Black teachers who had taught in the same school districts for more than five years were protected by tenure laws—that is, the school districts could not dismiss them except for incompetent teaching. Most school districts respected the tenure rights of black teachers but some did not. For those black teachers, fighting school boards took both time and money, and many black teachers had little of either. They simply tried to find other jobs as quickly as possible. A more serious problem occurred for black teachers who had not established tenure. Since very few Kentucky schools were hiring new black teachers, most of these teachers either left the State or found other kinds of jobs.

In 1970, Kentucky had almost the same number of black teachers (1,559) that it had in 1956 (1,439). In this same period, black pupils increased from 40,000 to 64,429—a more than 50 per cent increase. So the ratio of black teachers to black students declined substantially during this period.

Some black leaders knew that teacher dismissals would accompany desegregation and offered a creative solution for this problem.

A Citizens Committee on Desegregation was formed in 1955. Members were James A. Crumlin,

Kentucky NAACP President: Mrs. Anita W. Robinson, Executive Secretary of the Kentucky Teachers Association; Harry McAlpin, Louisville attorney and NAACP Board member; and Rufus Atwood, President of Kentucky State College.

This group appeared before the Kentucky Board of Education to suggest that the board establish a statewide pool of qualified teachers, black and white, who might be forced out of their positions by the closing or merging of schools in the desegregating process. Teachers from this pool could then be used to replace the “emergency teachers” (teachers that did not qualify for Kentucky teacher certification) who were teaching in schools throughout the state. The board, busy with pupil desegregation, did not act upon this suggestion.

In 1956, the Kentucky Council on Human Relations and its Executive Director, Galen Martin, began implementation of an extensive campaign “to insure that black teachers do not become the victims of pupil desegregation.” Although black teachers were losing their jobs to white teachers, the figures compiled by the Kentucky Council on Human Relations for the academic year 1955-56, showed that Kentucky black teachers held more college degrees

and more advanced degrees than their white colleagues. (See Chart on the Page opposite.)

Within the State Board of Education, a black member from Louisville, Mrs. John Walls, spurred the effort for pupil and teacher desegregation from her appointment in 1956 until 1962. Harry McAlpin, a black attorney of Louisville, followed her and between 1963 and 1968 provided leadership to insure that Kentucky schools followed State and Federal laws to protect the rights of black pupils and teachers.

2. Teacher Desegregation Slow

Accompanying the loss of qualified black teachers in Kentucky was the problem of the slow rate of teacher desegregation.

Few districts in the State provided for teacher desegregation when they desegregated student bodies. The Lexington and Fayette County Schools placed five black teachers on white faculties in 1955. In 1957, there were only five black teachers and 359 white teachers serving on desegregated faculties. While Louisville and Jefferson County pupil desegregation began in 1956, as late as the 1958-59 school year, neither school system had placed black and white teachers on the same faculty.

Most districts proceeded very slowly with teacher desegregation. As late as school year 1961-62, seven years after the Supreme Court ruling, only 17 Kentucky school districts had placed black teachers in formerly white schools, involving a total of only 119 black teachers. The following school year only 43 districts had begun teacher desegregation involving only 248 out of nearly 1,500 black teachers.

For the school year 1965-66, 90% of Kentucky’s black pupils were attending racially desegregated schools. But only half of Kentucky’s black teachers were on desegregated faculties. In that school year, 721 black teachers were on desegregated faculties in 252 schools involving 92 school districts. Not until 1969 were most Kentucky black teachers serving on desegregated faculties.

Teacher Desegregation Survey

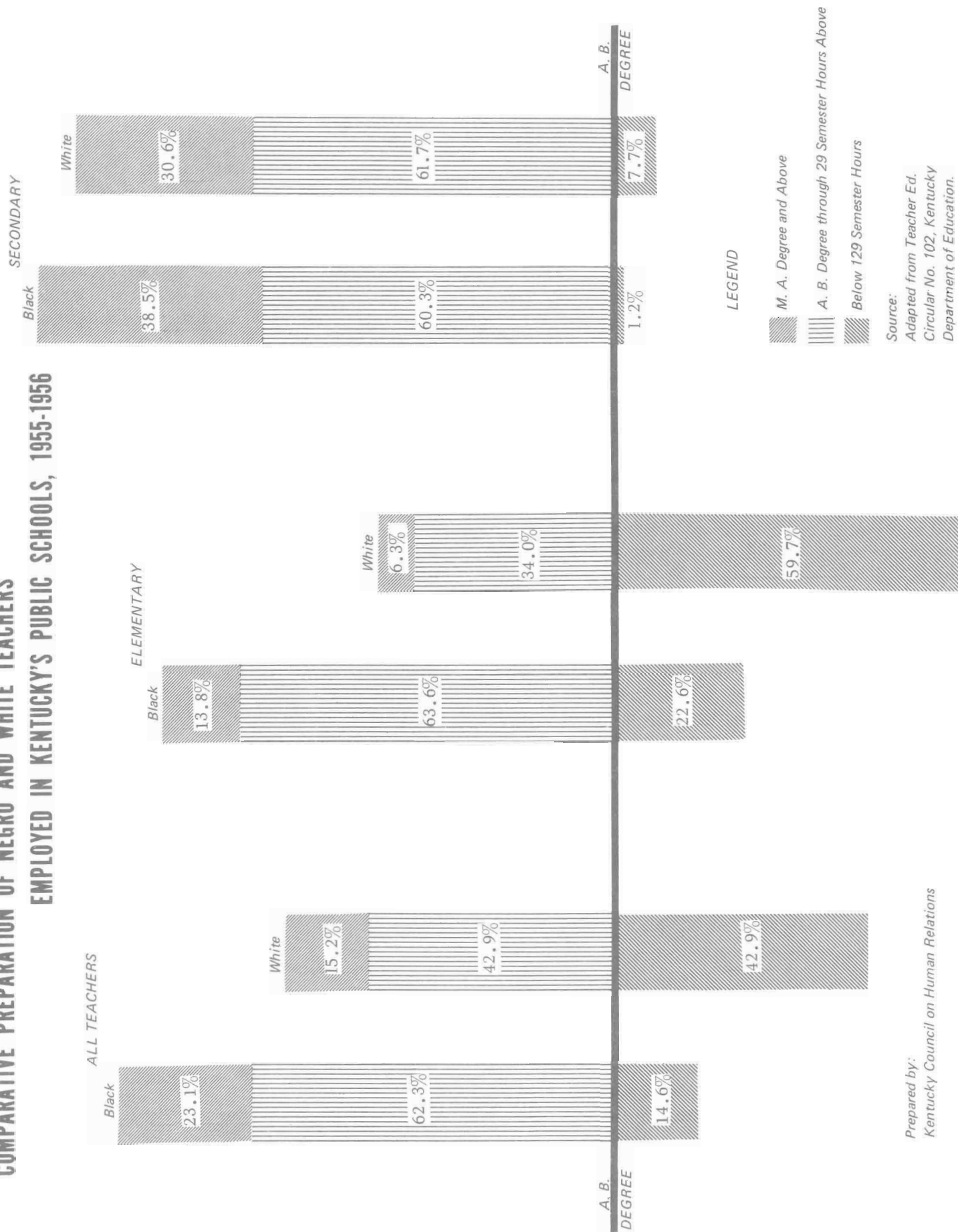
As part of its plan to promote teacher desegregation, the newly formed Kentucky Commission on

Black Teachers on Desegregated Faculties 1956-1966

	No. of Districts	No. of Schools	No. of Teachers
1956-57	4	8	9
1957-58	7	13	15
1958-59	10	18	20
1960-61	13	28	58
1961-62	17	41	119
1962-63	25	52	145
1963-64	45	110	248
1964-65	60	147	393
1965-66	92	252	721

Source: *Compiled from Racial Integration in the Public Schools of Kentucky, 12 periodic reports, State Dept. of Education*

COMPARATIVE PREPARATION OF NEGRO AND WHITE TEACHERS EMPLOYED IN KENTUCKY'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1955-1956



Human Rights made a 1961 report documenting the success of teacher desegregation where it had been tried. Two University of Kentucky professors, Dr. A. Lee Coleman and Dr. Sidney J. Kaplan, interviewed teachers, principals, and superintendents of schools which had desegregated faculties. The survey found that most of those interviewed felt that faculty desegregation had worked much better than expected. Black teachers reported that they felt that they had been accepted as equals by their white colleagues. White parents reported they had been impressed by the teaching ability of the black teachers.

Loss of Black Administrators

Black administrators faced the same problems faced by black teachers in the desegregation process. The number of Kentucky black principals and superintendents has declined substantially since Kentucky desegregation began. In 1954 there were approximately 200 black principals in Kentucky. As of 1969-70 (according to a survey made by the Kentucky State Department of Education), there were only 36 black principals in the State, including two black high school principals.³

Resegregation

Avoiding resegregation is a problem faced by school systems in many of Kentucky's larger cities. Even where school boards had drawn school boun-

daries to promote desegregation, the racial composition of some neighborhoods rapidly changed as families moved in and out of an area. In recent years, an increasing number of white families residing in Kentucky's metropolitan areas have moved to the suburbs, leaving inner city neighborhoods predominantly black.

One city where resegregation occurred was Louisville. Between 1956 and 1965, the number of students attending desegregated schools increased each year. By 1965, 20.3 per cent of the city's pupils were in schools that were neither predominantly white or predominantly black. (A school is considered predominantly black or white when students of one race represent more than two-thirds of its total enrollment.)

However, since 1965, this trend has reversed and Louisville's school system has moved toward segregation. By 1968, only 9.6 per cent or one of every ten students in the city were enrolled in schools having less than a two-thirds majority of either race. This meant that 90 per cent of the city's students were enrolled in schools that were predominantly black or white.

In 1970, more than 95 per cent of Louisville's students attended schools which were predominantly black or white. Only three schools in Louisville were not predominantly white or black in 1970.

Summary of Chapter Twenty

Desegregation of Kentucky public schools began with relative ease just one year after the Supreme Court decision that public schools segregation must end. Compliance with the Supreme Court Ruling rather than resistance to it was the prevailing attitude in Kentucky.

However, many school districts took initial steps to desegregate their student bodies and then considered the job done. The more difficult problem of teacher desegregation was ignored. Many school

districts offered freedom of choice integration; but few districts tried to solve the more difficult problem of how to draw school boundaries to insure maximum integration in communities with segregated residential patterns.

All of the problems of desegregation have not been solved. Two serious problems which continue are the lack of black teachers and administrators in Kentucky's schools and the resegregation of schools in larger cities.

¹Omer Carmichael and James Welden, *The Louisville Story*, (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1957), p. 98-99

²J. C. James, "The Black Principal: Another Vanishing American," *The New Republic*, CLXIII (September 26, 1970), p. 19

³Charles Walden, "The Louisville Story is Out of Date: Schools Move Back Toward Segregation," *Louisville Times*, December 20, 1968, p. 1

A SMALL GROUP OF CIVIL RIGHTS SUPPORTERS marching in front of the State Capitol Building in March 1964. Over 10,000 Kentucky citizens travelled to Frankfort from all parts of the State to demonstrate support for the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.



Timetable on State-Wide Civil Rights Action

1949: University of Kentucky admitted Blacks to graduate and professional schools.

1950: Day Law amended and Berea, University of Louisville, Bellarmine, Ursuline, Nazareth colleges opened to Blacks.

1954: University of Kentucky opened undergraduate divisions to Blacks.

1955: Other State colleges opened to all applicants.

1960: General Assembly established Kentucky Commission on Human Rights and prohibited discrimination in state employment.

1961: 70% of Kentucky's drive-in movies admitted Blacks, and 114 of 116 libraries admitted Blacks.

1962: Legislature empowered all cities to create local commissions on human rights and to prohibit discrimination in places of public accommodations; discrimination banned in teacher employment.

1963: In March, Governor Bert T. Combs issued Governor's Code of Fair Practice covering internal operation of State Government, contractors, etc.

1963: In June, Governor Combs issued Fair Service Executive Order to encourage State licensing agencies to discourage discrimination by places of public accommodations they license. The order was later suspended.

1964: Civil Rights groups held March on Frankfort; General Assembly fails to pass public accommodations bill; starve-in held in House gallery.

1966: General Assembly passed model Civil Rights Act which prohibits discrimination in employment and public accommodations.

1966: General Assembly repealed "dead letter" segregation laws, the Day Law, etc.

Chapter Twenty-One

A Policy of Equality



KENTUCKY BECAME THE FIRST STATE SOUTH OF THE OHIO RIVER to enact a broad coverage civil rights law on January 27, 1966 when Governor Breathitt signed the 1966 Civil Rights Act. Robert Estill, chairman of the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights (far left) and A.D. Williams King participated in the ceremony, which was held at the base of a statue of Kentucky-born President Abraham Lincoln in the Capitol Rotunda.

From the beginning, white Americans had carefully and purposefully denied black Americans equality. After the Civil War ended slavery, Jim Crow segregation gradually developed and laws were passed to make certain that Blacks were kept as second class

citizens. Very slowly, as we have read, this policy of separateness and inequality began to give way as Blacks continued their struggle for the rights and opportunities so long denied them.

The Brown Decision

The 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* marked the turning point in the national attitude towards segregation. The Supreme Court had finally proclaimed as doctrine what Justice John M. Harlan of Kentucky had written fifty years before:

“Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful. The law regards man as man and takes no account of his surroundings or of his color when his civil rights as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land are involved.”¹

In the first six years after the Brown decision, Kentuckians became aware that the policies of the State, which had previously supported segregation and discrimination, were also embarking on a new direction. In the legislature as well as in the courts of Kentucky, the State’s first commitments to a policy of equality began appearing during the late fifties and early sixties.

Desegregation of Public Parks

Kentucky’s first step in desegregating facilities other than schools came in 1955. On December 16 of that year, the Kentucky Court of Appeals banned racial segregation in all public recreational facilities—parks, playgrounds, and swimming pools—throughout the State. The twenty-four State parks that had been open to whites only and the one State park for Blacks only now were open to all. In Louisville, Mayor Andrew Broaddus pledged that “we will observe the spirit as well as the letter of the decisions.” He announced that all city parks and recreational facilities would be open to all.

Throughout the rest of the fifties, most civil rights activities in Kentucky took place in the federal courts as one ruling after another ordered the desegregation of certain Kentucky school districts.

Legislative Action

In 1960, however, the focus shifted from the courts to the State legislature. The 1960 General

Assembly, under the leadership of Governor Bert Combs, passed two significant civil rights laws.

1. A prohibition of discrimination on the basis of race or ethnic origin in employment under the newly created State Merit System.
2. Adoption of a public policy against discrimination and creation of the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights to implement that policy.

The provision in the Merit System Act was intended to bring fair employment coverage to 15,000 State jobs. It was designed to insure that State agencies didn’t use their selection procedures to avoid hiring black employees.

The bill creating the Commission on Human Rights was supported in the House of Representatives by Louisville black Representative William H. Childress and by many white legislators. When it first came up in the House, it failed to pass. Its supporters then regrouped and obtained the necessary votes.

The function of the Commission was “to encourage fair treatment for, to foster mutual understanding and respect among and to discourage discrimination against any racial or ethnic group or its members.”

The legislature gave the Commission no enforcement powers and a budget of only \$12,500 a year to carry out its responsibility.

Governor Bert Combs appointed a Lexington clergyman, the Reverend Robert W. Estill, Chairman of the Commission. In the early years, Frank Stanley, Sr., of Louisville served as Vice-Chairman and Charles Steele of Louisville, as Secretary-Treasurer. Other members serving that first year included: Jesse J. Dukeminier, Lexington; Gilbert W. Kingsbury, South Fort Mitchell; Dr. Frank Kraus, Bardstown; James A. Logsdon, Livermore; Mrs. Robert Low, Pineville; Jack Page, Pikeville; and Charles Williams, Paducah.

Meeting for the first time in September, 1960, the Commission members discussed ways the Commission could promote equal rights for all.

Speaking to the Commission, Governor Combs said, “We want you to understand we are looking to

you to take the initiative and to show the way to us, as to all other Kentuckians. I hope that whatever approach you have to your job, you will be positive and take the initiative. I hope you lead the way in this field, and I want to say to you as Governor I will give you full support, this administration will, and I think the people will."

The Commission began its early work in three areas: teacher desegregation, equal employment and public accommodations. In December, they chose Galen Martin as Executive Director, and in September, 1961, L. Clayton Jones joined him as Assistant Director.

Working with Local Commissions

The State Commission chose as a particular objective the creation of local commissions on human rights. The first local commissions were established by 1961 in Frankfort, Henderson, Lexington and Louisville. By 1970 sixteen Kentucky cities had established official commissions. In six other cities, such groups existed on a voluntary or unofficial basis. Three commissions—Hopkinsville, Lexington and Louisville—employed full-time staff members.

The creation of such local groups in the early sixties was one sign that times were changing in Kentucky. Many citizens of both races voiced their opposition to legal segregation and other forms of discrimination. The State Commission staff met



DISCUSSING CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION AT A 1965 GOVERNOR'S "OPEN OFFICE" session in Louisville are (left to right) Governor Breathitt, Galen Martin, Robert Estill, F.G. Sampson, Garland T. Offutt, and A.D. Williams King.

periodically with these local leaders to provide counsel, materials and information. Draft ordinances were prepared and program ideas shared from other cities.

Education and Persuasion

During the sixties studies and reports were made by the Commission to promote voluntary desegregation in public accommodations businesses before the laws were passed to insure service for all. These surveys, which helped create a favorable climate for the passage of enforceable laws, reported on desegregation in:

Drive-In Theatres
Restaurants
Municipal Recreation
Indoor Movies
Libraries
Colleges
Vocational Education

Each of these had two goals:

1. to learn about progress made in Kentucky toward equal treatment of all citizens, and to share this information with others who might follow the good examples already set.
2. to learn about the continuation of discrimination and unfair treatment in Kentucky and to tell about it through objective reports which help awaken the public conscience to the continuing brutality of discrimination.

Recommending Necessary Legislation

The experience of other states convinced the members of the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights that voluntary methods were not sufficient to end discrimination. Many Commission projects were planned to show the need for Kentucky laws against discrimination. From its first year, the Commission began recommending the passage of enforceable, anti-discriminatory laws at the state and local level.

The Commission worked with black representatives and other supporters in each successive session of the General Assembly to obtain needed laws. Some of the laws on which the Commission cooperated were:

- 1962: Act to enable cities of all classes to pass public accommodations ordinances and to create their own local commission on human rights
- 1964: Proposed statewide public accommodations bill which failed to pass
- 1966: Comprehensive fair employment and public accommodations act
- 1966: Repeal of dead-letter segregation statutes
- 1968: State fair housing law

Black Elected Officials

The creation of the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights and local human rights commissions were signs that times were changing for Kentucky's Blacks. Another sign began to appear in Kentucky politics. Although a few Blacks had held elective office in Kentucky before 1960, these officials were generally elected from districts where a majority of the voters were Black. The sixties saw a new phenomenon—Blacks elected in districts that were predominantly white.

This trend began in 1958 when Woodford Porter became the first Black to be elected to the Louisville Board of Education. Porter was the only one of the three candidates elected who campaigned on a platform calling for teacher desegregation in the Louisville schools.

In 1963, Harry N. Sykes was elected City Commissioner in Lexington where 80 per cent of the registered voters were white. He was re-elected three times; in 1967, he received more votes than any of the other three commissioners.

Luska J. Twyman was elected to the Glasgow City Council in 1963. He served on the City Council until 1968 when he was elected by the other councilmen to fill the unexpired term of a mayor who resigned. In 1969, he was elected to a four-year term as Mayor by the voters of Glasgow, a town with a black population of less than 10 per cent.

Francis E. Whitney was elected to the Hopkinsville City Council in 1952 and served continuously on



J. DANIEL F. MASSIE of Hopkinsville (left), magistrate of Christian County's First District since 1945, has been in office longer than any other black elected official now serving. LUSKA J. TWYMAN of Glasgow (right), Kentucky's first black mayor, was voted into office by an electorate which is approximately 90% white.

that Council until 1970 when he became mayor pro-tem. Another Hopkinsville Black, Philip C. Brooks was elected to the School Board in 1962 and continued to serve on that Board through 1971.

By 1970, there were 41 Blacks serving in elective offices in Kentucky. Only 10 of these officials represented predominantly black wards or districts. Five of the other 31 officials estimate that 90 per cent of their total votes came from white voters.

While the achievements of these black elected officials have been notable, black citizens were still under-represented in Kentucky governmental offices. In 1970, out of a total of 6,000 elected officials in the state, the 41 black officials comprised less than 7/10 of one per cent (.7%). Blacks made up just over 7% of Kentucky's population.

During the 1960's some of Kentucky's black elected officials were involved in gathering government and legislative support for enforceable Civil Rights Laws. For example, State legislator Charles W. Anderson, acted as the spokesman for a group who went to Louisville's City Hall to demand a local public accommodations law. Together with the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights and local commissions, black officials like Anderson worked to create a favorable climate for the passage of such laws on both the local and the state level.

Pressure for Desegregation

For the first five years after the Supreme Court school desegregation decision, black leaders were

largely busy working with school desegregation—encouraging black parents to send their children to integrated schools, pressuring slow-moving school boards to speed up the desegregation process, and stressing the necessity that school boards retain qualified black teachers. But once a substantial beginning had been made in school desegregation, these leaders began to turn their efforts to other areas.

In Kentucky, as in the rest of the country, the process of desegregation did not begin immediately. The court opinion which called for desegregation “with all deliberate speed” was used to delay a beginning in many areas. Some Kentucky counties had waited as long as ten years before beginning desegregation of their schools. Desegregation of other facilities took even longer and did not come about automatically.

Each step in the process came about because black people and white supporters requested that step and, in most cases, used some kind of pressure to enforce that request. The pressure came in many forms: sit-ins, wade-ins, marches, demonstrations, “don’t buy downtown” campaigns, and voter registration drives. The variety of methods used by citizens committed to equality will become evident as we discuss the major steps toward that goal.

Public Accommodations

The next immediate target in Kentucky’s civil rights movement was the desegregation of public accommodations—such as restaurants and lunch counters. Most business establishments outside the black community treated black customers differently from whites or refused service to Blacks entirely.

Black teenagers could not stop for a Coke after school like white teenagers. Nor could black businessmen “grab something to eat” in local restaurants. Students at Kentucky State College in Frankfort would be served at nearby drive-ins if they stayed in their cars but were refused service at the tables inside.

Across the country, methods of peaceful resistance such as sit-ins, marches and economic boycotts were gaining national publicity. Kentucky Blacks, watching the success of some of these methods on television news programs, began to consider using the same tactics to desegregate individual establishments.

Also they began work toward the passage of laws which would prohibit discrimination.

Louisville Public Accommodations Drive

In Louisville, on January 4, 1960, a delegation of 35 black and white leaders appeared at a City Hall “beef session” to request a law that would end segregation in city theaters, restaurants and other business places. Charles W. Anderson who had been the first black man elected to the Kentucky General Assembly in 1936, was the spokesman for the group. The city had done all it could, replied Mayor Bruce Hoblitzell, “but trying to force integration in private business is another matter.”²

On February 10, William W. Beckett, a black Alderman, placed a public accommodations ordinance before the Board of Aldermen. Two weeks later, the Board rejected this ordinance on the basis of an opinion from the City Law Department that such an ordinance would be illegal.

Mayor Hoblitzell then reassembled his long-dormant Mayor’s Committee on Human Relations which heard pleas for a public accommodations ordinance from spokesmen from the NAACP and the Unitarians for Social Action.

In March, 1960, at the request of Alderman Beckett, Kentucky Attorney General John Breckinridge reviewed the proposed Louisville public accommodations ordinance and ruled that there was no conflict between the proposed Louisville ordinance and Kentucky law. Louisville had the legal power to adopt such an ordinance, Breckinridge ruled. Alderman Beckett then reintroduced his ordinance, but it was rejected by the Board by a vote of 11 to 1.

Because the Democratic Board of Aldermen refused to pass a public accommodations ordinance, black leaders changed their tactics. They began a campaign to defeat the Democratic administration and replace it with aldermen and a mayor who would pass such an ordinance.

Voter Registration

Woodford Porter, first black member of the Louisville School Board, became chairman of a voter registration campaign. In August, 1960, he announced that their slogan would be “51,000 voting

Negroes will desegregate Louisville.” On August 23, a registration rally held at the county armory with the Reverend Martin Luther King as the main speaker drew 9,000 people.

The voter-registration campaign continued through the fall and winter of 1960 and added many new black voters to the rolls. The following February, 1961, William S. Milburn announced as a Democratic candidate for Mayor of Louisville. Milburn was the Principal of Male High School. While serving on the Board of Aldermen, he had voted against Alderman Beckett’s public accommodations bill.

Statements urging black voters not to vote for Milburn were issued by various organizations and individuals. Among those who voiced their opposition to Milburn’s candidacy were: J. Earl Dearing, President of the Kentucky NAACP; representatives of the Louisville NAACP Chapter; a Sunday school association representing 32 churches; and the Right Reverend C. Ewbank Tucker, Presiding Bishop of the Kentucky Conference of AME Zion Church.

Peaceful Demonstrations

While political leaders were attempting to organize black voters, other black citizens—especially students and young people—were demonstrating their opposition to racial discrimination. Day after day, in downtown Louisville large groups of Blacks and some white supporters marched back and forth in front of business establishments that refused to serve Blacks.



DURING THIS 1961 DEMONSTRATION AT LOUISVILLE’S FONTAINE FERRY PARK, black and white marchers carried signs protesting the park’s policy of segregation.

Blue Boar cafeterias managed by L. Eugene Johnson, a member of the Louisville Board of Education, were primary targets for the marchers. The marchers stopped once at the Mayor’s request so that his emergency committee could try to negotiate an end to discriminatory policies. When those negotiations failed, the marching resumed. At this point, Louisville police began to arrest the marchers, charging the young people with delinquency and the adults with disorderly conduct.

A boycott by Blacks of the downtown businesses was also used as a means of economic pressure to deflate the usual Easter sales boom.

November Election, 1961

Mayor William O. Cowger and a Republican Board of Aldermen swept to an easy victory in November. Black voting for the Republican candidates was especially high because Cowger had promised to establish a human relations commission to deal with the desegregation of public accommodations. The results from 33 predominantly black precincts showed that while in 1957, the Republicans had captured 54 percent of the vote, in 1961 they captured 64 per cent of the vote, an amazing 10 per cent increase. White high-income and blue collar precincts also showed significant shifts to the Republican side.

Two Blacks, Russell P. Lee and Mrs. Louise Reynolds, were elected to the Louisville Board of Aldermen and one black woman, Mrs. Amelia M. Tucker, was elected to the State legislature.

Louisville Human Relations Commission

The new Republican administration was committed to action in the field of civil rights: but even with that commitment, the wheels of government moved slowly. Mayor Cowger announced the creation of a Louisville Human Relations Commission, but not until June 1, 1962 did they have their first meeting.

The Louisville Commission hired Mansir Tydings as its first director, and elected University of Louisville Professor Marlin Volz, Dean of the Law School, as Chairman. Under this leadership, the Louisville Commission worked to draw up a public accommoda-

tions ordinance and enlist community wide support for the measure.

Finally, on May 14, 1963, the Louisville Board of Aldermen passed the public accommodations law. Now Louisville businesses open to the public could not bar customers or treat them differently because of their race. The law provided for fines of up to \$100 for each violation.

The following day, 73 Louisville Blacks "went out to dinner" in 49 different restaurants in the city. In almost every case, they were served with no unpleasantness on the part of waitresses, cashiers, or other customers.

The Louisville Public Accommodations Law was passed as a result of a three-year effort on the part of both black and white leaders. Tactics used to gain passage included direct confrontation with the Mayor and Board of Aldermen, political pressure, economic pressure, and peaceful demonstrations.

State Public Accommodations Effort

While Louisville Blacks were working toward passage of a city public accommodations law, similar activities were taking place in many communities throughout the state. A sit-in campaign in Frankfort led by students from Kentucky State College received national television coverage in April, 1960. Similar tactics led to the passage of the Lexington Public Accommodations Law.

Louisville officials who had refused to pass local public accommodations laws said that the State did not give them the power to pass such laws. Local civil rights leaders brought this problem to the attention of Governor Bert Combs and they urged him to use his leadership to persuade the General Assembly to pass a bill granting cities of all classes the power to pass public accommodations anti-discrimination laws. The bill was passed on March 1, 1962.

Combs Fair Service Executive Order

In an effort to discourage discrimination by places of public accommodation throughout the State Governor Combs issued a Fair Service Executive Order in June, 1963. The order directed State Licensing agencies to examine their existing powers

over businesses they licensed and report what the agency might do to curb unfair treatment by businesses. Although the order did not add to the power of any agency, it directed them to do what they legally could to promote fair treatment for all citizens.

The Governor's action was based on his belief that just as it is unconstitutional for a state to discriminate, so a State cannot constitutionally license private businesses which discriminate on the basis of race, or color. This was the same view expressed in the famous civil rights dissents of Supreme Court Justice John M. Harlan in the last century.

The Louisville Tavern Owners instituted a suit against this order, charging that it was unconstitutional. The order was suspended, pending the outcome of the suit.

During the election campaign for governor in 1963, the Fair Service Order became a campaign issue. Attacked as illegal and dictatorial, the order provoked much controversy, and was never implemented. However, several businesses (notably a group of thirty-five stores in Bowling Green) did begin equal service to all Kentuckians as a result of the initial order and continued policies of fair service after the order was suspended.

Toward State P.A. Law

The need for a statewide law banning discrimination in public accommodations became more and more apparent. In 1963, the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights drafted a proposed public accommodations bill to be presented to the General Assembly when it met the following January.

A group called the Kentuckians for Public Accommodations Legislation, headed by Joe C. Graves, Jr., of Lexington, held workshops throughout Kentucky to build support for this bill.

When the Assembly met in January, 1964, two Louisville black Representatives, A.L. Johnson and J.E. Smith, and a white Representative, Norbert Blume, introduced the public accommodations bill. It soon became evident that only with a massive show of public support would the bill have any chance of passage.



THE 1964 MARCH ON FRANKFORT, led by the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.

1964 March on Frankfort

On March 5, 1964, citizens from all over Kentucky came and stood before the State Capitol on a bitterly cold day to demonstrate their support for a statewide public accommodations bill. The Reverend Martin Luther King addressed the 10,000 citizens thus assembled. Other speakers included Jackie Robinson and the Reverend Ralph Abernathy. Folk-singers Peter, Paul and Mary performed.

For the first time, a united effort of religious, civil rights, and community leaders had demonstrated massive support for fair treatment for all persons. A larger number of black and white leaders worked together on an equal basis to organize the March on Frankfort than had ever worked on one effort in the State before.

The March was coordinated by the Allied Organizations for Civil Rights (AOCR). The guiding spirit and organizational spark for the AOCR was provided by Chairman Frank Stanley, Jr., a black Louisville newsman; Dr. Olof Anderson, Synod Executive of the Presbyterian Church, served as co-chairman; the Reverend John Loftus, Dean of Bellarmine College,

was secretary; and Louisville insurance man, Eric Tachau, served as treasurer.

Eleven days after the March, when it became increasingly apparent that the General Assembly would not act favorably, twenty-five individuals took seats in the gallery of the House of Representatives, announcing they would refuse food until the House passed a public accommodations bill. No effort was made to remove these fasting demonstrators and they remained in the gallery for the entire week of the legislative session. While some legislators regarded this demonstration as bothersome or meaningless, others admitted that they were impressed by the seriousness of purpose of those who fasted.

1964 Bill

Despite the strong showing of public support, the public accommodations bill was not passed by the 1964 General Assembly. Various assemblymen made attempts to revise or amend the bill but each new version of the bill was rejected either by the opposition for being too strong or by the supporters for being too weak a version.



THE 1963 MARCH ON WASHINGTON attracted black and white participants from all over the nation, including many Kentuckians. Pictured above is a Louisville delegation led by Frank Stanley, Jr.

In late February Governor Breathitt announced his support of a bill being introduced in the Senate with coverage of fewer businesses. The civil rights groups quickly opposed the weaker bill. The split was healed later in the session, but despite the skillful floor leadership of Representative Blume and many attempts to get a clear-cut vote, no bill was passed.

While some people believe that the civil rights groups should have accepted the compromise bill in 1964, few will deny that a much stronger and broader civil rights act was obtained in 1966 because of the 1964 struggle.

U.S. Civil Rights Act of 1964

While the battle to pass a State Public Accommodations law was being waged in Frankfort, Black and white civil rights advocates were urging Congress to pass a national civil rights law. Starting in 1963, and throughout 1964, black and white Kentuckians wrote Kentucky's congressmen and visited them in Washington, D.C. asking them to support this bill which would make discrimination in employment and public accommodations illegal. An interracial delegation of Kentucky leaders traveled to Washington, D.C. to express support for the proposed Federal Civil Rights Act. Headed by Hal Thurmond of Hopkinsville, the

delegation included the following members: Reverend Austin Bell, Henderson; Mrs. John H. Young, Hopkinsville; Mrs. Laura Massie, and O.M. Travis, Jr., Lexington; Mrs. Milton Young, Louisville; Dr. W.H. Harvey and W.C. Young, Paducah.

Three of the seven Kentuckians serving in Congress supported this act and voted for it. They were Senators Morton and Cooper and Representative Perkins. The remaining Kentucky Representatives voted against the act. The act was passed and was signed into law on July 2, 1964.

A New Effort Begins

Immediately after the 1964 General Assembly adjourned, civil rights leaders began to plan their strategy for the next legislative session. Workshops were held in several cities throughout the state. The NAACP and KCLC sponsored a statewide conference on civil rights legislation in December, 1965, with addresses by Governor Edward T. Breathitt and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The passage of the federal civil rights act encouraged those who were working on a Kentucky bill. They decided to press for a strong, effective bill which prohibited discrimination in employment as well as in public accommodations.

Black Employment Disadvantages

While public accommodations discrimination had received much attention from Kentucky Blacks, they were also greatly concerned about the disadvantages caused by employment discrimination. The 1960 census data showed the earning power of Blacks was less in that year than that of whites—and the gap had widened since 1950.

For every dollar earned by white workers in 1960 on the average Blacks earned only 54 cents. Ten years earlier 61 cents was earned by Blacks for every dollar earned by whites in 1950. Black workers also decreased in importance in white collar jobs in relation to whites in the same period. Even though they had shown faster educational gains than whites in this period, Blacks held fewer white-collar jobs in relation to whites.

Most economic differences persisted throughout the 60's with Blacks being the last hired and the first

fired. Black income tended to be just slightly more than half of white income. And the ratio of black unemployment remained double that of whites.

Governor's Code of Fair Practice

In March, 1963, Governor Combs had issued a Governor's Code of Fair Practice. This Code, which has been continued in force by Governors Breathitt and Nunn, was the first statewide effort to deal with the problem of employment discrimination. The Code was primarily designed to eliminate discrimination in all aspects of state government and require contractors with the State to refrain from discriminating.

This Code was useful in eliminating some discrimination, but it did not affect the majority of Kentucky's black workers who were employed by private businesses.

General Assembly, 1966

As Kentucky civil rights groups made plans for passage of an anti-discrimination law by the 1966 legislature, it was not surprising that they developed a draft bill which also included employment.

Neither the Governor, the legislators, nor the civil rights leaders wanted another split like the one which



THE 1966 KENTUCKY CIVIL RIGHTS ACT was introduced in the House of Representatives by State legislator, Jesse Warders.

occurred in 1964. They backed a broad bill which was taken from a model act of a national group.

Passage of the Kentucky Civil Rights Act

With the support of Governor Edward T. Breathitt, Jr., and key legislative leaders, the civil rights bill was introduced on January 4, 1966.

The only black member of the legislature, Jesse Warders of Louisville, was applauded after he spoke for the bill in the House of Representatives.

"It is altogether wrong that I should have to . . . speak on the issue of the civil rights bill," he said. "It is not wrong that I do so but wrong that I have to do so.

"It is wrong, but nevertheless true that in 1966 Negroes are turned away from places of public accommodations in Kentucky because of the color of their skins.

"It is wrong, but true that in our State qualified Negroes are denied equal access to job opportunities.

"It is wrong, but true, that each year Kentucky loses the cream of the crop of Negro college graduates . . . because they are unable to find meaningful work."

The civil rights leaders had done their homework well. The 1966 civil rights act passed the House of Representatives, the vote was 76 to 12 in favor of the act in the Senate, the vote was 36 to 1. On January 27, at the base of a statue of Abraham Lincoln in the Capitol Rotunda, Governor Edward T. Breathitt, Jr., signed the historic act.

The Act prohibited discrimination by employers of eight or more persons. It provided that all places of public accommodations (except barbers, beauty shops and rooming houses) must be open to all races. The enforcement provisions were among the most comprehensive and complete in the country.

Complaints and Enforcement

For the first time, the 1966 Civil Rights Act gave the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights the

enforcement power it had been seeking to insure that individuals and groups within the State must comply with the law.

People who believed themselves discriminated against because of their race, color or religion could use this new law by filing complaints. The first employment complaint was received July 6, 1966, just five days after the law became effective. The first public accommodation complaint was filed on July 11, 1966. Between the date the law was signed and January 1971, 185 employment complaints and 96 Public Accommodations complaints were filed. In addition, 28 complaints of housing discrimination have been filed under the 1968 Fair Housing Act.

Process and Procedure

A typical case first begins when a written sworn complaint is filed with the Commission. A typical example was the complaint filed by a black coal miner. He complained he was denied promotion to foreman because of his race. He further charged that the company (called respondent) refused to hire and promote Blacks into the higher skilled and better paying jobs because of their race.

The complaint was investigated by the staff of the Commission. Records of the company hiring and promotions were examined. After all this evidence was studied and evaluated, the Commission decided that there had been discrimination and they advised

the company of the findings. (If the Commission had found no evidence of discrimination they would have dismissed the complaint.) Next the staff talked with the company in order to settle or conciliate the complaint.

As in most cases, this complaint was conciliated. The black miner was promoted and became the first black foreman in the history of the company. Since that case was settled, several other Blacks have received promotions to better jobs and the company has promoted four more Blacks to foreman.

By this method, the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights has investigated and settled hundreds of complaints all over Kentucky. A few cases were not settled through informal conciliation; these were taken to public hearing. At these hearings, evidence was heard by the Commissioners who acted as a Hearing Panel. After the evidence was presented and the testimony heard, the Commission issued written Findings of Fact, Conclusion of Law and an Order. The respondent could appeal his case by taking it to court.

Employment Discrimination and the Black Community

For over a hundred years, black workers were denied employment opportunities by policies of segregation and discrimination. State and local ordinances did help Blacks combat employment discrimi-

SCOTT AND HOWARD VS. L&N

Two black men, W.A. Scott and Melton Howard both long-time employees of the L&N Railroad and members of the International Association of Machinists Union challenged the discriminatory system by filing complaints and won. These men and nine other Blacks had been placed on a separate and segregated roster by an agreement made between the Union and the Company in 1943. Although they were paid the same wages as their white co-workers, they had no opportunity to advance up the apprentice-helper ladder to become machinists. This was a benefit open to whites only.

Although it was disguised as a separate seniority roster, its effect, as Mr. Scott and Mr. Howard testified, was to discriminate against Blacks because of their race. Additionally, their complaint brought forth stark evidence of the kinds of jobs Blacks normally hold in American industry. This pattern is not uncommon and similar patterns were found in most Kentucky companies during this period.

CARR, ET AL VS. PHILIP MORRIS, INC.

With assistance from the Louisville chapter of the NAACP, four black women, Carrie Carr, Gwendolyn Wilson, Vera Pruitt and Amanda Cooper successfully regained for themselves and for 151 black co-workers, years of seniority rights previously withheld. These Blacks had lost varying amounts of seniority (some as much as nine years) because of an agreement between the Philip Morris Company and the Tobacco Workers International Union, Local 16.

This agreement provided that persons transferring from the stemmery (a division of the company) to the main plant must forfeit some of their seniority rights. Since Blacks prior to 1961 were denied most jobs in the main plant and hired only in the then all-Black stemmery, the effect of this agreement was the same as racial discrimination. After receiving the evidence in six days of hearings, the Commission ordered their seniority rights returned to them.

nation. However, the deep scars of those years of economic deprivation were not easily healed.

Much discrimination also remained. Some employers continued to use subtle methods of discrimination to keep black workers in the lowest paying jobs.

Employment cases involving Blacks employed by the L&N Railroad and the Philip Morris Company demonstrate how some subtle practices discriminate against black people.

Louisville's Black Businesses

Just as the black worker is usually found in the least skilled and lowest paying jobs, so too is the black businessman at the bottom of the economic heap.

A 1969 report, *Black Business in Louisville*, showed that blacks owned only 490 or 4.6% of the businesses in Louisville and Jefferson County. Black

owners employed only 1,623 persons or .6 of one per cent of the people employed in Jefferson County. This compared with a black population of 20% of Jefferson County.

When asked why so few black businesses were operating, the black owners frequently mentioned the barriers Blacks face in borrowing money or obtaining insurance.

Deadletters Repealed

The 1966 legislature also passed another act which repealed outdated statutes requiring racial segregation in such areas as schools, textbook use, and railroad cars. These statutes had been invalidated by court decisions, but they had never been repealed by the legislature. Louisville Representatives Jesse Warders and Bob Henry Eicher introduced the Dead-letter repeal. In supporting his "housecleaning" bill, Warders said that the continued presence of the antiquated statutes was an "affront to Negro citizens." Two votes were cast in opposition to the repeal of the deadletter statutes.

Summary of Chapter Twenty-One

In 1959, with the creation of the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, the State of Kentucky had taken the first step towards guaranteeing equal rights to all its citizens. The next six years saw the enactment of specific laws banning discrimination in public accommodations and employment. This period also saw the formation of many community civil rights agencies. Several Kentucky Blacks were elected

to office by predominantly white constituencies.

Failure of the Louisville Democratic Mayor and Board of Aldermen to pass a public accommodations ordinance was a significant factor in a shift of black voters to Republican candidates. The newly-elected Republican Mayor and Board of Aldermen passed such a law in May, 1963.

¹*Plessy v Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537, at 559, (1896)

²"Governor Wins Test Vote, New School Chief Installed," *Southern School News*, VI, (Nashville, Tennessee), February, 1960), p.8

Chapter Twenty-Two

Equal Housing Opportunity



THROUGHOUT THE SPRING OF 1967, OPEN HOUSING MARCHES were held in Louisville to demand passage of an ordinance that would effectively end housing discrimination against black people.

A basic question for every family is, "Where shall we live?" In choosing a home, most Kentucky black families had severely limited choices. For in most Kentucky towns there were certain areas where Blacks were allowed to live and other areas where they could not live.

No law required this housing segregation. In 1917, the Supreme Court case of *Warley v. Buchanan*, which originated in Kentucky, had established that housing segregation on the basis of race was illegal. (see Chapter 12) However, segregation did exist and was enforced by a kind of unwritten understanding.

The black man who tried to buy a house or rent an apartment in an area that had all white residents ran into many kinds of problems. Perhaps the person who was selling or renting might suddenly decide not to sell or rent that day. Perhaps the real estate dealer would say he already had a buyer for that house when he did not. Even if the black man thought he was being denied the chance to live in a neighborhood of his choice because of his race, he had no way to enforce his rights until the 1966-68 period.

Segregated housing often meant that a black family would have to pay more than a white family would have to pay for the same type of house. There were usually more Blacks looking for houses than there were houses available in the areas where Blacks could live. So a landlord could charge an unusually high price for his house, knowing there was no where else the black family could go.

For the same reason, housing in the area reserved for Blacks often became overcrowded. Families had to have homes, and if there were no new homes available, the families would crowd into the existing ones.

If a housing area is racially segregated, then the schools, churches, and stores in that area are generally segregated too, not by law but simply because everyone in the neighborhood is of the same race. Thus people are denied the opportunity to get to know people of a different race.

After legal segregation of the public schools and public facilities was ended and Blacks established their rights to be served in facilities that were opened to the public, black leaders turned their attention to this difficult housing problem. The question they asked was, "How can the government best protect each citizen's right to live where he wished to live?"

Louisville Housing Problem

In 1965, almost 40 per cent of Kentucky's Blacks lived in Louisville. Let us study the housing problems faced by Louisville Blacks and their difficult struggle to obtain a local ordinance against housing discrimination. Similar conditions existed in many other Kentucky towns.

During the 1940's, the greatest concentration of



AFTER BLACK FAMILIES MOVED into Louisville's West End during the early 1960's, many white residents in the area posted "Not for Sale" signs on their lawns to demonstrate their belief that integration would not be detrimental to their neighborhood. The signs, which were provided by the West End Community Council, were also intended to discourage panic selling.

black population in Louisville was in the area just to the east and to the west of the central city. This area contained many old homes, some of which were built before the Civil War. The homes had been divided into apartments and often many families lived in houses that had been designed for only one family.

After World War II ended and construction materials again became available for peacetime uses, many new houses were built in Louisville. These new houses were located principally on the east and south ends of the city.

Blacks who lived in the crowded central areas of the city found they could not buy homes in the new subdivisions that were developed. However, as white people who lived in the west end of Louisville moved into some of the newly constructed houses, they began to sell their west end homes to Blacks.

This process was encouraged by some unscrupulous real estate agents who urged white people to sell their homes quickly when a black family moved into the neighborhood. By playing on the fears of the white families, the unfair real estate agent

was able to buy their homes and sell them to other Blacks at a much higher price. Reputable real estate agents condemned this practice but it was difficult to stop. By 1960, many black families had moved from the central city to the West End.

A 1967 study of 200 real estate sales in three “changing neighborhoods” in Louisville’s West End showed that property values had increased or remained the same after black families moved in. The report answered the claim of some people that black families would lower property values. One area check showed that 12 black families were charged 18% more for a home than the average buyer.

Urban Renewal

In 1960, the city of Louisville with funds from the federal government, began the first of several urban renewal projects. The Urban Renewal and Community Development Agency bought a large tract of land in the West End.

On that Urban Renewal land, the houses which had been declared substandard were torn down. Modern public housing was built in their place. This project was known as the Southwick Project.

In 1962, work began on clearing out the East and West Downtown Urban Renewal areas. The West Area extended from Market to Broadway between Sixth and Fifteenth Streets. The East Area extended from Market Street to Broadway between Jackson and Second Streets. Over 1,300 families who lived in these areas had to find other places to live. Many small black owned stores that operated in these areas had to close and were not able to relocate elsewhere.

Since the majority of the families who lived in these areas were Black, the need for adequate housing available to black people increased. One obvious way to provide for that need was to end the unwritten discrimination that barred Blacks from certain residential areas. However, Louisville did not take this course. By the time an enforceable open housing law was passed in Louisville, the inner city had become a ghetto.

Unenforceable Housing Ordinance

In August, 1965, the Louisville Board of Aldermen passed a Freedom of Residence Ordinance that

was voluntary only. This ordinance stated the principle that every person had the right to purchase any house he could afford in whatever neighborhood he chose. If someone felt that he was refused housing because of his race, he could ask the City Freedom of Housing Panel to investigate the complaint. But no provisions were made for the enforcement of this law. The Human Relations Commission could only encourage voluntary acceptance of fair housing.

Not until February, 1966, was the seven-member Freedom of Housing Panel named. The Chairman was Mrs. William M. Flarsheim who also served on the Louisville Human Relations Commission. Two Blacks, Jesse Warders and Lou Lipscomb, served on the panel.

In March, 1966, in a joint statement, leaders of the NAACP and KCLC (Kentucky Christian Leadership Conference) urged the Board of Aldermen to provide an enforceable open housing ordinance. Signing this statement were the Reverend W.J. Hodge, Kentucky NAACP President; Neville M. Tucker, Louisville NAACP President; and the Reverend A.D. Williams King, Chairman of the Executive Board of KCLC.

This statement began the campaign for an enforceable open housing ordinance. The campaign proceeded much as earlier civil rights drives had proceeded.

Committee on Open Housing

Black leaders and white leaders formed a loosely organized Committee on Open Housing, which directed the campaign. Representatives of the African Methodist Episcopal Ministerial Alliance, the KCLC, the Louisville Area Council on Religion and Race, the NAACP, and the West End Community Council served on this committee.

The committee’s demand for an enforceable ordinance was met by the pleas for delay from city and county governing officials. County Judge Marlow W. Cook urged a court test to determine the legality of such an ordinance. Louisville Mayor Kenneth Schmied asked his Advisory Committee on Community Development to study all aspects of an open housing law and give him a report.

Statewide Campaign for Fair Housing Laws

Frustrated in their local effort to obtain an enforceable fair housing law, Louisville civil rights leaders also participated in mounting a state-wide campaign for local housing ordinances. The legal base for that drive was provided in a final section of the State Civil Rights Act which said cities and counties could pass their own acts against discrimination. While the State Act itself covered only employment and public accommodations at the time, the section for local government granted them broad powers so they could enact fair housing ordinances.

Soon after the legislature adjourned, leaders from several cities met with the State Commission on Human Rights to plan for obtaining local anti-discrimination acts. Beginning at an April meeting in Frankfort, a "model" local act covering housing was developed. Participants in the conference wanted to get many local ordinances on housing to pave the way for passage of a State law in the 1968 legislature. They thought Louisville and Jefferson County would be the most likely areas to pass such laws first. As it turned out, Louisville and Jefferson County were among the last to pass fair housing acts, and that came only after election of a new Mayor and Board of Aldermen in Louisville and a new County Judge in Jefferson County.

Bardstown—Nelson County Act: First and Best

Bardstown and Nelson County became the first Kentucky area with open housing laws. Both the city and county governments passed a law based on the model act proposed at the Frankfort Conference. The law covered the areas of housing, public accommodations and employment. It set forth definite enforcement procedures for those who disobeyed the law. Although this law became effective July 28, 1966, it is still the broadest and strongest local anti-discrimination ordinance in the State of Kentucky.

Following the success in the "Old Kentucky Home" area, the Louisville Committee on Open Housing presented an open housing law based on the "model" to the Board of Aldermen in September, 1966, and to the County Judge in October.

Proposing the law were: the Reverend A.D. King of the Kentucky Christian Leadership Conference; the Reverend W.J. Hodge of the local NAACP; the

Reverend William Daniels and the Reverend James C. Maloney of the Council on Religion and Race; Hulbert James, Executive Director of the West End Community Council; the Reverend Leo Lesser, President of the AME Ministerial Alliance, and Dr. Maurice Rabb, acting President of the Louisville NAACP Chapter.

For the next six months, white and black leaders worked to gather support for an effective open housing law. The Board of Aldermen invited speakers for and against the law to present their views at a public hearing about the law. The hearing was held in a south Louisville neighborhood where opposition to the law was very strong. The Reverend Martin Luther King and other officials of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference conferred in Louisville with leaders of the drive.

Open Housing Marches

After six months of negotiation and discussion did not produce an enforceable open housing law, the black leaders decided to take more dramatic action to focus community attention upon the problem. On March 7, 1967, a group of blacks and whites who supported the proposed law marched together to a furniture store owned by Mayor Schmied to convince him of their support of the open housing measure. Thereafter, similar marches to the homes or places of business of other Aldermen were held.

The marches usually began with a short service at one of the black churches. Black and white people, old and young, participated. The marchers were coached on the techniques of non-violent resistance



MANY DEMONSTRATORS WERE WILLING TO GO TO JAIL to express their support for enforceable open housing laws.

and the necessity of maintaining order. Often white citizens followed the marchers, shouting obscenities at them and sometimes throwing rocks and sticks at them.

On April 11, 1967, the Board of Aldermen defeated the open housing measure by a vote of 9 to 3. Aldermen Oscar G. Stoll joined black Aldermen, Eugene Ford, Sr., and Mrs. Louise Reynolds in favoring the bill. Black leaders vowed the marches would continue until an enforceable law was passed.

And continue they did. Night after night the marchers entered white neighborhoods pledging, "We shall overcome some day." When the city issued an injunction against the marchers, the citizens marched anyway and submitted to police arrest. Juvenile offenders were generally released in the custody of their parents but many of the adult demonstrators spent the night in jail.

The marches continued well into the summer of 1967. Meanwhile in June, 1967, Covington passed an open housing ordinance with enforcement penalties for violators of the law. The next month, Kenton County took the same action.

In August, the Fayette County Fiscal Court passed an open housing ordinance. Lexington, Fayette County's largest city, was covered by this ordinance which included enforcement procedures.

Louisville black leaders warned the Mayor and Board of Aldermen that Lexington was becoming a far more progressive city in the field of civil rights.



LOUISVILLE'S OPEN HOUSING DEMONSTRATORS marched to the Ohio River to dramatize the need for a local fair housing ordinance.

Open housing marches were discontinued in August in Louisville so that all available personnel could work on the voter registration drive. Aldermen were to be elected in November. The Committee on Open Housing urged all citizens who were dissatisfied with the failure of the Republican Board of Aldermen to pass a strong ordinance to vote against those Aldermen in November.

November Elections

Eleven of the Aldermen were defeated. Only one Alderman, Mrs. Louise Reynolds, the black woman who had worked for an open housing ordinance, was re-elected in the November vote. Democrats won the other eleven seats on the Board. By December 13, this newly elected Board had passed an enforceable open housing ordinance with penalties for those who violated its provisions. Again the techniques of non-violent resistance combined with an effective "get out the vote" campaign resulted in a major civil rights victory.

Kentucky Fair Housing Act

The drive for fair housing protection for all Kentucky black citizens reached a goal on March 15, 1968, when the Kentucky General Assembly passed a fair housing act. It passed the Senate by a vote of 27 to 3 and the House by a vote of 54 to 17. Thus, Kentucky became the first state in the South to enact a statewide fair housing law.

Introduced in the Senate by black Senator Georgia M. Davis, and in the House by black Representatives Mae Street Kidd and Hughes McGill, the fair housing bill received strong support from members of both political parties. The work of the three black legislators was considered a major factor in the bill's passage.

During most of the session, observers thought the bill had little chance to pass, but civil rights leaders persisted in their campaign. Even supporters of the bill were surprised by the strong support it received once it got out of committee.

Influencing the passage of the bill was the two year drive for local housing laws which covered 700,000 Kentucky citizens in four counties and Louisville by the time the General Assembly met. Even so there was opposition and the bill was not passed until the final day of the legislative session, and it became law without the Governor's signature.



MAE STREET KIDD



GEORGIA M. DAVIS



HUGHES MCGILL

The act banned discrimination in all housing sold or rented through real estate agencies and in most housing sold or rented directly by an owner. Sale of a family home by the owner without a real estate agent was exempt from coverage of the act.

Enforcement procedures were similar to those of the Kentucky Civil Rights Act of 1966. Complaints could be filed with the Kentucky Human Rights Commission where they would be investigated, and, if necessary, taken to court.

The passage of this act meant that the right of each Kentucky citizen to live in any area he can afford would be protected by the State government. Thus the State took another step towards providing equal treatment for all.

Bowling Green adopted a fair housing ordinance in February, 1969, and the Jefferson County Fiscal Court adopted fair housing provisions for the County in March, 1970, after Todd Hollenbach was elected County Judge. Hopkinsville also passed a Fair Housing Ordinance in 1971.

Making Fair Housing a Reality

While some communities sought passage of local fair housing ordinance others which had passed them began promoting these newly guaranteed rights.

In Lexington, the Committee on Open Housing began to promote fair housing by urging Blacks to move into neighborhoods of their choice. This committee, made up of Blacks and whites, had been instrumental in getting Lexington and Fayette County to adopt a Fair Housing Ordinance. Holding regular meetings in Lexington's black community, the

committee worked to inform Blacks about their fair housing rights.

Dr. Fred Vetter supervised a training program for white "testers." If a black couple had been told that a certain apartment had already been rented, the white testers would then try to rent that apartment. If the apartment proved to be available to the white couple, a discrimination complaint was filed against the apartment owner.

As a result of this testing, several complaints of housing discrimination were filed and two Federal Court suits were commenced.

In Louisville, the Council on Religion and Race began to operate a Housing Information Service. This service, staffed by volunteers, assisted Blacks who wanted to move to better housing outside the traditionally all-black neighborhoods. The volunteers surveyed apartments in Louisville, compiling a file on the location, size, and rent charged for available apartments. Some volunteers acted as testers to assist Blacks who tried to buy or rent housing in Louisville.

Housing Opportunity Centers

To help black families find housing on a non-discriminatory basis, Housing Opportunity Centers were opened by the State Commission on Human Rights in Louisville and Lexington in 1969.

A black family who contacted the center would be helped to find housing in new neighborhoods. If the black family felt they were discriminated against when they tried to buy or rent a house, the center might check by sending a white couple to buy or rent the same house. The landlord would be urged to

make the housing available to the black family. If that failed, the Housing Opportunities Center would help the black family file a discrimination complaint.

Changes in Housing Patterns

The Kentucky Fair Housing Law and local ordinances have brought some changes in the housing patterns in the State. As of June 1970, about 854 black Louisville and Lexington families were living in neighborhoods that had previously been all-white. Many large apartment complexes accepted applicants regardless of color. A July, 1970, survey of 47 black

families living in new areas showed they experienced some discrimination from real estate dealers but had practically no problems with their neighbors.

Some of the state's major industries have supported fair housing. In June, 1968, for example, the International Business Machine Corporation of Lexington announced that it would not deal with any real estate agency that did not provide equal service to Blacks. Since IBM employs many Lexington citizens and transfers many employees in and out of the city, this announcement had a major effect on real estate policies in Lexington.

Summary of Chapter Twenty-Two

The right to choose the area of the city in which they wanted to live was a right that was denied Kentucky black families for many years. A major campaign on the part of civil rights leaders throughout the state produced the enactment of several local open housing ordinances and finally, a statewide fair housing law.

In a parallel to events for the last four years, the defeat of the Louisville open housing ordinance by the Republican Board of Aldermen led to the election

of a Democratic Mayor and Board, who immediately adopted a fair housing act.

Since these laws were enacted, some black families have found housing in areas that were previously closed to them. Some of these families have been assisted by the Housing Opportunities Centers in Louisville and Lexington.

Many forms of discrimination in the sale and rental of housing still exist.



PROTESTING AGAINST LOUISVILLE'S FAILURE to pass an enforceable fair housing law were many young people of both races including this civil rights demonstrator pictured during a 1967 march.

Timetable on Kentucky Fair Housing Actions

- | | |
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| <p>1955: Suit by NAACP resulted in Federal Court ban against segregation in Louisville Municipal Housing.</p> <p>1963: Use of scare tactics to induce a person to move because Blacks moved into a neighborhood banned by Kentucky Real Estate Commission.</p> <p>1966: January—General Assembly passed Kentucky Civil Rights Act which also empowered cities to enact local laws against housing discrimination.</p> <p>1966: April—Efforts begun for adoption by cities and counties of “model” local ordinance including housing.</p> <p>1966: July—Bardstown-Nelson County adopted comprehensive “model” ordinance prohibiting discrimination in housing, employment and public accommodations.</p> <p>1967: July—Covington and Kenton County adopted acts against discrimination in housing.</p> <p>1967: August—Fayette Fiscal Court passed prohibition against discrimination in housing in the County and Lexington.</p> | <p>1967: December—As one of the first acts, new Louisville Board of Aldermen passed broad enforceable ordinance against discrimination in housing. (It provided “teeth” for voluntary act of August, 1965, which had been the target of civil rights marches.)</p> <p>1968: March—General Assembly added housing coverage to strong enforcement procedures of Kentucky Civil Rights Act.</p> <p>1969: February—Bowling Green Board of Commissioners became fifth local Kentucky government to adopt fair housing ordinance.</p> <p>1969: Lexington and Louisville Housing Opportunity Centers of Kentucky Commission on Human Rights opened to assist black families moving to new neighborhoods.</p> <p>1970: March—Jefferson County Fiscal Court extends coverage of local housing law into County.</p> <p>1970: General Assembly passed Kentucky Housing Fund Act introduced by black Representative Mae Street Kidd to provide money for low-income housing for poor and black Kentuckians. This act was vetoed by the Governor.</p> |
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Chapter Twenty-Three

The Changing Mood



THIS UNNAMED MURAL, PAINTED BY TWO OF LOUISVILLE'S YOUNG BLACK ARTISTS, reflects the pride of black people in their heritage and determination to obtain equal opportunities and full participation in the society. The mural hangs in the black library of Plymouth Settlement House in Louisville.

In the early sixties, "Freedom Now" was the dream of many black Kentuckians. It affected young Blacks who braved taunts and insults and even jail to march for their rights. It affected older Blacks who had worked for and dreamed of the day when their children would be free to attend any school or eat in any restaurant in Kentucky.

Disillusionment with Slow Rate of Change

When legal segregation was ended, Blacks still experienced discrimination. In desegregated schools, black students often found that they could not

participate fully in extra-curricular activities such as cheerleading.' Because black students were often denied decision making roles in school government, much of the leadership experience they had obtained at black schools was lost to them.

Blacks often found that their opportunities for a better life were not greatly increased after the passage of Fair Employment and Fair Housing Laws. Despite all the civil rights marches, all the anti-discrimination laws and all the talk of ending unfair treatment during the 1960's Blacks still found that discrimination was an every day fact of life in Kentucky.

For example:

- * While some few Blacks got better jobs, the change seemed to be only token. Black income remained only slightly more than half of white income, and black unemployment remained double that of whites.
- * Many schools were becoming more segregated.
- * In November, 1970, a roller skating rink located in Central Kentucky still had a sign which said:

New Skating Schedule

Tues.	All	7–10 p.m.
Wed.	Negroes only	7:30–10:30 p.m.
Fri.	All	7:30–10:30 p.m.
Sat.	White only	7:30–10:30 p.m.
Sun. Nite	All	7:00–10:00 p.m.

The sign, bearing the name of a national soft drink company, was quickly removed after the Commission on Human Rights served a complaint, but this was four years after the 1966 law made such signs unlawful.

- * Black Businessmen played an insignificant part in the economy. Even in Louisville with about 96,000 black people only 1,632 or six tenths (.6) of one per cent of employed people worked in black businesses.
- * In March, 1969, a movie theatre in North-Central Kentucky was still making Blacks enter by a side door and would only seat them in the balcony.
- * On January 25, 1968, another roller rink barred a racially mixed group of students from Lincoln School.
- * December, 1970, an Eastern Kentucky drugstore lunch counter refused counter service to local Blacks. It would serve them only on a carry-out basis.
- * June, 1969, a Kentucky cemetery refused to sell Blacks burial plots because of their race and printed this white-only provision in their sales contracts.

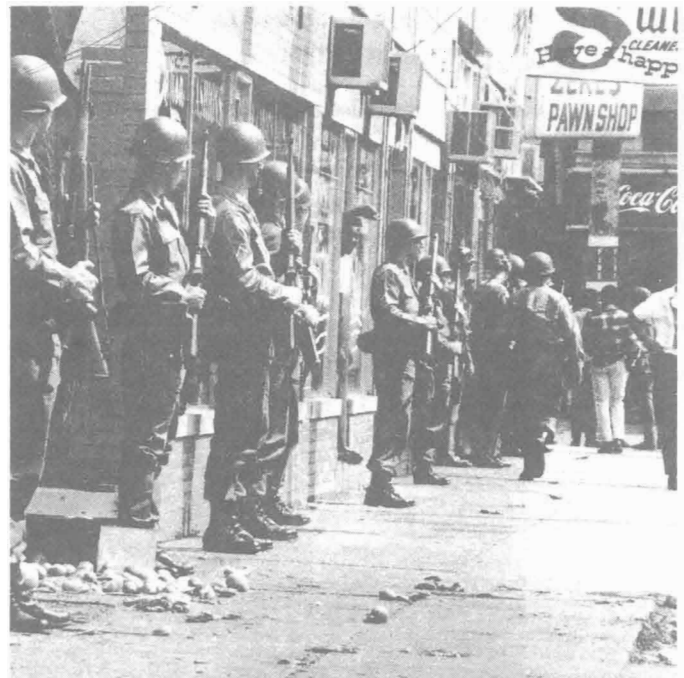
- * Some middle class Blacks were able to move into desegregated neighborhoods in suburban areas. But for most poor Blacks, the only alternative to substandard, dilapidated housing in ghetto areas was public housing for which there were long waiting lists.

Racial Violence

This slow rate of absence of real progress for black people after the end of legal segregation disillusioned many Blacks. Progress was often blocked by some whites who bitterly resented the emergence of Blacks as individuals or as a group from the lowest economic, educational, and cultural levels.

Tensions between the races increased and erupted into racial violence on the part of both Blacks and whites. Further disillusionment resulted. The year, 1968, was the worst year for this kind of violence as the chart on the adjacent page indicates.

Black churches and businesses were bombed. Some Blacks were beaten. Others had shots fired at them. Violence infected the black community too. Stores belonging to white owners were looted and vandalized. In May, 1968, the National Guard had to be sent to Louisville to maintain order.



A MAJOR CIVIL DISORDER which occurred in Louisville's West End in May, 1968 left two black teenagers dead, ten persons injured and resulted in the arrests of 472 persons. Pictured above are National Guardsmen standing at attention in the neighborhood where the disorder broke out.

Incidents of Racial Violence in Kentucky, 1968

<i>Location and Description</i>	<i>Injury—Death—Arrest</i>			<i>Comments</i>
April 9-10, Lexington Civil Disorder			16	Outbreak followed assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
May 27-29, Louisville West End Civil Disorder	10	2	472	1,450 National Guardsmen called to duty. \$200,000 property loss.
June 23, Zoneton, Bullitt County Bombing—Black Church				First Corinthian Baptist Church
July 7, Newburg, Jefferson County Civil Disorder				Rock throwing crowd of Blacks dispersed by police with tear gas.
July 14, Bowling Green Bombing—Black Church				Mr. Hebrew Presbyterian Church
July 20, Richmond Shooting of black man	1			Whites fired shot from passing car.
August 13, Louisville Bombing—Black Church				Zion Baptist Church—Minor violence erupted at rally to protest bombing.
August 16, Newburg, Jefferson Co. Bombing				Fire bomb destroyed black community center.
August 17-21, Owensboro Civil Disorder	2		22	Outbreak followed fatal shooting of black man at night spot.
September 1, Berea Gun Battle	2	2	14	Violence occurred at end of National States Rights Party Rally.
September 4, Lexington—Bombing Black-owned Pharmacy	10			Black owner active in Civil Rights.
September 8, Paducah—Bombing Political Headquarters				Wallace campaign office—Minor damage.
September 28, Halltown, Hart County Bombing—Black Church			1	Mt. Gilboa Baptist Church
October 10, Columbus, Hickman Co. Assault and Battery	1		1	VISTA volunteers—two white and one Black—assaulted by group of 12 whites.



THIS LEXINGTON DRUGSTORE was completely destroyed by a bomb in September, 1968. Ten persons, including its owner Zirl Palmer, were injured by the bombing. Palmer, a member of the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, believed the bombing was caused by white terrorists.



IN SEPTEMBER, 1968, BERE A WAS THE SCENE OF A GUN BATTLE between local Blacks and members of the National State Rights party. Here State Police peel bullets from an automobile following the shoot-out which resulted in two deaths.

After this violence in Louisville, six black leaders were arrested and charged with conspiring to destroy public property. After a two year delay because of complicated legal maneuvers, the "Black Six" finally came to trial. The prosecutor could not establish a case against them and they were declared innocent of the conspiracy charge.

The human toll for the racial violence of 1968 in Kentucky was four dead, 25 injured and 525 arrests. Property value loss in the Louisville disorder was placed at \$200,000, and damages to black churches, a pharmacy, a community center and a political headquarters totaled an additional \$250,000.

The causes for the sharp upsurge in racial violence in Kentucky can be traced to several sources. The major civil disorder in Louisville was not unpredictable in light of the 164 similar disorders which occurred nation-wide the previous summer. Certainly the problems faced by Louisville's black community are different only in degree from those in the other cities where disorders broke out. Unemployment and underemployment were serious problems, as well as inadequate housing. Like half of the disorders studied by the Commission on Civil Disorders, the Louisville



ONE OF FOUR CHURCHES BOMBED IN 1968 was the Mount Gilboa Baptist Church in Hart County. In the picture above Trustee Grover Brewer attempts to clear the debris caused by the bombing.

violence was touched off by a prior police action: the alleged use of excessive force in arresting a black suspect.

A shootout in Berea, and possibly other incidents of violence, can be traced directly to an increase in activities by the National State's Rights Party and similar hate groups. The Berea outbreak followed a rally by the State's Rights group during which speeches highly critical of Blacks served to incite local residents.

Although there were scattered incidents of racial violence in both 1969 and 1970, these years were quiet compared with 1968. In Kentucky, however, as in the rest of the United States, major problems in the area of race relations remained. Many other basic problems such as poverty and crime control were complicated by racial injustices.

Disillusionment with the dream of "Freedom Now" continued to grow in the black community, particularly among young people. For many Blacks, this disillusionment became complete with the assassination of Martin Luther King, who had been both leader and symbol of the Civil Rights movement.

The Changing Mood

The changing mood of disillusioned Blacks was expressed in demands for Black Power. The term Black Power has puzzled and alarmed many people, particularly whites who do not understand what it means. Although Black Power has meant many different things to many different people, a definition of Black Power generally includes the following ideas:

1. self-determination or the ability to control one's destiny and community affairs.
2. unity of black people.
3. self-respect and cultural pride.

Background of Black Power

None of these ideas is particularly new. Throughout the history of black people in Kentucky and in the United States as a whole, Blacks have tried to achieve goals of self-determination, unity, and self-respect and cultural pride. In the efforts of black people to find their own solutions for the problems resulting from slavery and segregation, we can see their attempts to reach these goals.

Self-determination was sought by the thousands of Kentucky Blacks who escaped from slavery so they

could live as they chose. The competent way in which Blacks used the limited authority they were allowed in administering their segregated institutions (such as hospitals and schools) also demonstrated their desire for self-determination.

Feelings of unity and pride among Blacks have also existed for a long time. The oppression of slavery and racial discrimination experienced by Blacks have tended to bring them together as a people. In the struggles against discrimination, black Americans have worked together for the whole black race. Various black nationalist movements (such as that of Marcus Garvey in the 1920's and, more recently, that of the Black Muslims) have stressed the importance of black unity. In Kentucky, black unity was an important factor in the Anti-Separate coach movement of the 1890's, the 1914 campaign to repeal the Louisville segregated housing ordinance as well as in the civil rights movement of the 1960's.

Black Pride

Traditionally black pride has been expressed in many ways. Since general newspapers ignored the activities of black people for many years, the black community supported black oriented publications such as the *Louisville Defender*. Whenever black men or women were able to break through barriers of segregation and discrimination to achieve national recognition, Blacks took special pride in their accomplishments.

"...we must learn to live together as brothers or we will all surely die together as fools."

"...Black Power is not a shout of violence or a shout of separation. Black Power simply means ...look at me ...I'm here. I have dignity. I have pride. I have roots. I insist, I demand that I participate in those decisions that affect my life and the lives of my children. It means that I'm somebody and that's what Black Power means."

"...Black America has said in a thousand ways that it believes in America. It has said it in slavery; it has said it in war; it has said it in peace. It seems to me now the time has come for America to say...black Americans, we believe in you."

Statement by Whitney M. Young, Jr.





MRS. ERSA HINES POSTON



FRANK STANLEY, JR.



MARK WARREN

Nationally Prominent Black Kentuckians

Probably the best known black Kentuckian of recent times was the late Dr. Whitney M. Young, Jr., who served as the Executive Director of the National Urban League from 1961 until his death in March 1971. Born and raised at Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky, Young served on seven presidential commissions and received the Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian award.

Lewis Olive of Louisville, who was the first black Kentuckian to graduate from West Point in this century, is head of the Urban League's Veteran's Affairs Program.

Several black women from Kentucky have made their mark in politics and government. The youngest delegate at the 1968 National Democratic Convention was Miss Gail McHenry of Hopkinsville. A Paducah native, Mrs. Ersa Hines Poston, has been President of the New York Civil Service Commission since 1967. Mrs. Poston is the highest ranking woman in New York State government and the only woman to serve on the Governor's Cabinet.

In the business world, Harvey Russell of Louisville is a national Vice-President of the Pepsi Cola Company.

Four College Presidents

In the field of education, there have been many exceptional black Kentuckians, including four college Presidents. The late Dr. Rufus E. Clement was a Kentuckian who served as President of Atlanta University, and in 1953, became the first Black to be

elected to the Atlanta School Board. Dr. James Lawson, a Louisville native, is now President of Fisk University in Nashville. Also from Kentucky is Dr. Charles H. Wesley, eminent black educator and historian who was President of Central State College in Wilberforce, Ohio. Dr. Horace Mann Bond, another prominent Kentucky educator, served as President of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania and Fort Valley College, Georgia.

Journalists

Black journalists who come from Kentucky include the editors of nationally distributed magazines which are of special interest to the black community. W. Leonard Evans, a Louisville native, is editor and publisher of *Tuesday Magazine*. Chester A. Higgins, who began his career as a reporter for the *Louisville Defender* is Senior Editor of *Jet Magazine*. Frank Stanley, Jr., of Louisville, is founder, editor and publisher of a Los Angeles magazine called *P.M. (Proud Minorities)*.

Fletcher Martin, a Lexington journalist, was the first black war correspondent assigned to the Pacific Theater in World War II. Martin is now the Information Officer for the U.S. Information Agency in Africa.

Poets

The poems of three black Kentuckians appear in the Bunstead-Hughes Anthology of Negro Poetry; Margaret Danner, a native of Graves County, who was

the poet in residence at Wayne State University; Joseph S. Cotter, Sr., a Louisville teacher for whom Cotter School is named; and Joseph S. Cotter, Jr.

C. W. Merriweather, a Hopkinsville attorney and newspaper editor, had several books of inspirational poetry published during his lifetime.

Artists

In the field of art, Isaac Hathaway, the Lexington sculptor who made death masks of such famous black Americans as Paul Lawrence Dunbar and Booker T. Washington, was chosen to design the Booker T. Washington half dollar.

In more recent years, several black artists who studied at the University of Louisville shortly after it desegregated, have earned national recognition.

Robert Carter, an Allen R. Hite Scholar at the University of Louisville, has received numerous awards for his work including first prize in drawing at the Pratt Commercial Art Exhibition in 1966.

G. Coleman Coxe, a Louisville teacher who was the first black artist to be awarded an Allen R. Hite Scholarship at the newly desegregated University of Louisville, earned a BA in Fine Arts from the University. Considered a "Master Painter" by his contemporaries, Coxe was one of the founding members of the Louisville Art Workshop.

Sam Gilliam, who earned an M.A. in painting from the University of Louisville, was awarded a National Endowment of Humanity and Art grant in 1966. His abstract paintings were exhibited in the first World Festival of Negro Arts, Dakar Senegal. Current exhibitions include the Museum of African Art, in Washington, D.C. and the Washington Gallery of Modern Art. Articles about Gilliam's work have appeared in *Vogue*, *The Art Gallery*, *Art Forum*, and *Arts in America*.

Another Louisvillian who studied at the University of Louisville as an Allen R. Hite Scholar was the late Bob Thompson. Although Thompson died in Rome at the age of 29, in his short career he gained international recognition as an artist. In 1965, when Thompson's paintings were shown at the Martha Jackson Gallery in New York, he established a new attendance record for the gallery.



LEON BIBB



TODD DUNCAN

Kenneth Young, another Allen R. Hite Scholar at the University of Louisville, is presently associate director of exhibition design for the Smithsonian Institute. Young's expressionist style paintings have been exhibited at the Washington Gallery of Modern Art, and the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.

Entertainers

In the entertainment world, folk singer Leon Bibb was raised in Kentucky. Todd Duncan of Danville, Kentucky, was the first black opera singer to sing a white man's role in a white opera company. Lionel Hampton, big band leader, and Jonah Jones, jazz trumpeter, both spent their childhood years in Louisville.

Television Director

Mark Warren, a Frankfort native who graduated from Lincoln Institute, began directing "Rowan and Martin's Laugh-in" in 1969. In 1971, he received an Emmy award for directing a segment of "Laugh-In" that was broadcast the previous year. In addition to his work on "Laugh-In," Warren has also directed several television specials.

Black Athletes

In the sports world, professional boxers, Muhammed Ali and James Ellis, came from Kentucky. Leonard Lyles played defensive back on the Baltimore Colts football team. Wesley Unseld, star center on the University of Louisville basketball team was hired to play for the professional basketball team, Baltimore Bullets. Lou Johnson of Lexington

played baseball with the Los Angeles Dodgers and the Chicago Cubs. Jim Green, track star at the University of Kentucky, will be a candidate for the 1972 Olympics.

The NCAA coach of the year for 1966-67 was Clarence E. (Bighouse) Gaines, a Paducah native who became head coach at Winston-Salem College. In 1968, coach Gaines was installed in the NAIA Hall of Fame for his coaching contributions.

Unity and Self Determination

In the late sixties, many Kentucky Blacks united to protest their exclusion from full participation in the society. Organizations like the Black Student Union on college campuses and the Black Unity League of Kentucky sprang up to express the demands of black young people to have a positive voice in decisions affecting their lives. In Louisville, black business associations were started to aid black business development through technical assistance. The Black Workers Coalition and the Committee of

United Blacks were formed to promote employment opportunities for Louisville Blacks. Kentucky's black elected officials, whose number rose to 41 in 1970, held meetings to discuss their role in serving the needs of the black community.

Cultural Pride

Along with renewed growth of black unity and efforts for self-determination among Blacks, there was also a rebirth of black consciousness and cultural pride. Many young blacks became involved in a search for identity which caused them to look back to their African heritage. Afro haircuts and bright colored dashikis became their way of saying, "I'm black and I'm proud" and "Black is Beautiful."

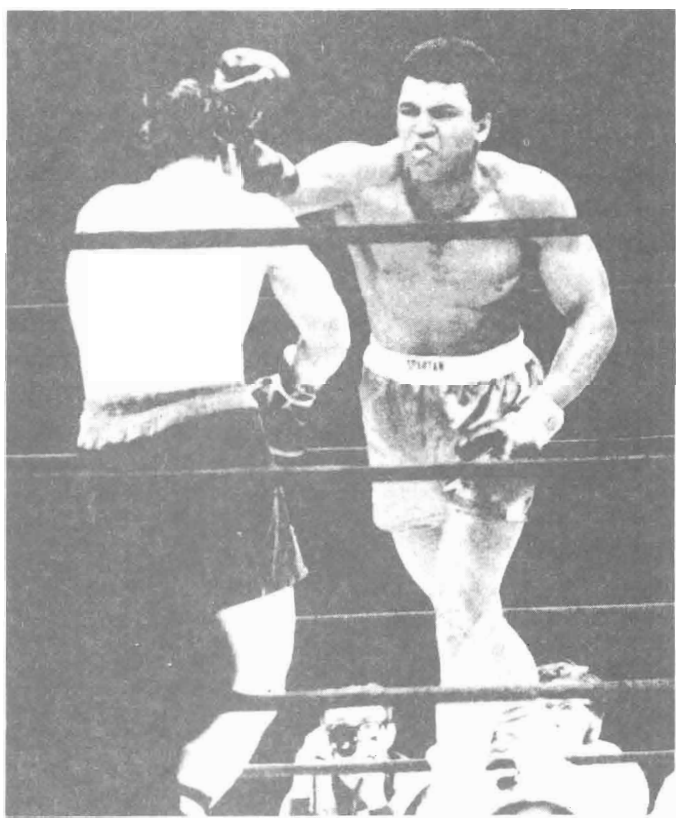
In many high schools and even elementary schools around the state, black students started black history clubs for the purpose of studying their heritage. Art shows and craft festivals displayed the works of proud young black artists. Together with other black artists, Louisvillian Fred Bond (grandson of James Bond) started the Louisville Art workshop to give black artists an opportunity to exhibit their talents and serve the community as artists.

Another Louisville group, the West Side Players gave black youth the opportunity to express their pride through plays and dramatic productions.

University of Louisville

Sometimes the energy of this growing black consciousness jolted Kentucky citizens who had become accustomed to ignoring Kentucky's black population. The University of Louisville, for example, located within easy commuting distance for over 50,000 black citizens became the focus of attention in the fall of 1968.

The University had black students and black faculty members. One black man, Dr. C.H. Parrish, Jr., was chairman of the Department of Sociology. In 1966, a black woman, Eleanor Young Alsbrook, was employed as the first black administrator at the University. In 1969, Dr. Alsbrook was made Assistant Dean of the University College. In the first months of 1968, the University also had appointed a black member, Woodford R. Porter, to its Board of Trustees.



MUHAMMED ALI, a Louisville native, won the title of Heavyweight Champion of the World in 1964.

In April, 1968, a group of black University of Louisville students staged a protest. While noting the presence of black faculty and participation of black athletes on the University teams, the students pointed to the University's responsibility in other areas. They said the University should recognize more problems and opportunities that lay in the black community at its doorstep.

Specifically, the students called for the hiring of a black affairs consultant, an increase in black students and teachers, more black history and culture courses, 200 Martin Luther King Scholarships for black students, and the appointment of blacks to the University's Board of Trustees.

To dramatize their demands, on May 1, 1969,

twenty-one students barricaded themselves in the office of the Dean of Arts and Sciences. They were finally removed by the police. Six of the leaders were expelled from the University.

The University made changes in its program. An Office of Black Affairs was established, directed by Hanford D. Stafford. The office was given the responsibility to recruit black students and faculty members, to establish a tutoring program for black students and prospective students, and to develop a degree awarding program in Black Studies or Afro-American History. More scholarship aid was made available for black students. An Afro-American collection was developed at the University Library.

Summary of Chapter Twenty-Three

As civil rights battles were won, there was a changing mood among many Kentucky Blacks. Disillusioned with the slow progress in Civil Rights after the end of legal segregation, some black Kentuckians began to seek "Black Power." Black Power meant self-determination, unity, self-respect and cultural pride, as well as voting power.

Black people of all ages organized to demand that society recognize the special problems they faced as Blacks. Black workers and businessmen united to work toward economic development in the black community. At colleges, Kentucky's black students asked for courses in Black Studies and Afro-American

history, for scholarship programs for minority students, and for tutoring assistance for students who had gaps in their educational background.

Some white citizens resented the black man's re-emphasis of the goals of Black Power. In 1968, violence broke out. Black churches were bombed; white stores were looted.

The following two years were marked by little outward violence, but also by little progress in ending the problems of poverty, crime control, and racial injustice that caused the violence.

The Kentucky Black History Committee

Kentucky Commission on Human Rights

Dr. Eleanor Y. Alsbrook, Louisville

Assistant Professor in the School of Education and Assistant Dean of University College at the University of Louisville. The former Eleanor Young, daughter of Whitney Young, Sr.

Education: Kentucky State College; B.L.S., Atlanta University; M. Ed., and A.C.Ed., University of Louisville; and D.Ed., University of Illinois.

Formerly worked as guidance counselor and principal at Lincoln Institute; Director of University of Louisville's Upward Bound Program.

Selected for 1970-71 edition of "Who's Who of American Women."

Offices: Board of Directors of Kentucky Youth Conference; member of the Merit Scholarship Selection Committee; Past Chairman of Kentucky's "United Negro College Fund" Drive.



Dr. Rufus B. Atwood, Cincinnati

President-Emeritus, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky; served as President, 1929-1962.

Education: A. B., Fisk University; B. S., Iowa State University; M. A., University of Chicago; L.L.D., Lane College, Jackson, Tennessee; D.Ed., Monrovia College, Liberia.

Awarded Bronze Star for heroism in World War I; Recipient of Algernon Sidney Sullivan Award from University of Kentucky.

Offices: Past Secretary of Conference of Presidents, Negro Land Grant Colleges; Past President of Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes; Past Chairman of Kentucky Council on Human Relations.



Dr. Henry E. Cheaney, Frankfort

Chairman of the Afro-American Studies Program and History Professor at Kentucky State College. Faculty member at Kentucky State for more than a quarter of a century.

Education: A. B., Kentucky State College; A. M., University of Michigan; Ph. D., University of Chicago.

Author of the article on "Kentucky" in the International Encyclopedia and a series of newspaper biographies on outstanding Kentucky-born Negroes. Editorial Board member of the University Press of Kentucky.



Mr. Charles Franklin Hinds, Murray

Director of Libraries, Murray State University, Murray, Kentucky.

Education: Attended American University, Washington, D. C. and the University of Louisville; M. A. and M.S. in L.S., University of Kentucky; Candidate for Ph. D.

Past Director, Kentucky Historical Society.

Former State Archivist of Kentucky. Former field representative of University of Kentucky Libraries.



Mr. Lyman T. Johnson, Louisville

Assistant Principal, Manly Junior High School.

Education: A.B., Virginia Union University; M.A., University of Michigan; further study at the University of Wisconsin, University of Kentucky and Union College, Barbourville, Kentucky.

Offices: Former President and Present Treasurer of the Louisville Branch of the NAACP; Past President of Louisville Association of Colored Teachers (1939-41) (before organization absorbed by KEA); former Chairman Deacon Board, Plymouth Congregational Church (UCC).



Mr. Howitt C. Mathis, Paducah

Superintendent, West Kentucky State Vocational-Technical School (Paducah).

Education: Tennessee A. & I University; M.C., Tennessee A. & I University; further study at University of Kentucky.

Member of the Kentucky Advisory Committee of U. S. Commission on Civil Rights and the Small Business Administration.

Offices: Director, Purchase Area Development District, Inc.; Past President of the Kentucky Vocational Association; Past Director of the Kentucky Teachers Association.



Mr. James O'Rourke, Lexington

Head Librarian, Kentucky State College.

Education: Talladega College; B. L. S., Atlanta University; M. L. S., University of Kentucky

Formerly History Instructor, Stillman College, Tuscaloosa, Alabama; Head Librarian, Stillman College, Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Served as Kentucky Chairman, National Library Week.

Offices: Treasurer, Lexington Chapter of St. Vincent DePaul Society; Presiding Chairman and Board Member, Lexington Chapter NCCJ; Chairman, Lexington Steering Committee.



Dr. Charles H. Parrish, Louisville

Served as Chairman of Sociology Department, University of Louisville, 1959-64; Emeritus, 1969 to present. Visiting Professor, Acting Chairman, Division of Social Science, Lincoln University, 1970-71

Education: A.B., Howard University; M.A., Columbia University; Ph. D., University of Chicago.

Former Faculty Member of Simmons University, 1921-30; Louisville Municipal College, 1931-51; Professor of Sociology, University of Louisville, 1951-69.

Served on Committee to evaluate Louisville public schools.

Member of Community Relations Service - U. S. Department of Commerce; Program Associate and Consultant for the Southern Regional Council.

Offices: Past Chairman, Community Action Commission.



Dr. William H. Perry, Jr., Louisville

Grand Secretary, Prince Hall Grand Lodge, F. & A.M. of Kentucky; Deputy for Kentucky, The United Supreme Council, 33^o, Southern Jurisdiction.

Education: A. B., Fisk University; M. Ed., University of Cincinnati; further study at University of Chicago and University of Indiana; Honorary L. L. D., Simmons University.

Formerly Principal of Western Elementary (now William H. Perry, Sr. Elementary) School; Retired Principal, Russell Junior High School, Louisville.

Offices: Vice-President, Lincoln Foundation; Co-Chairman, Commission on Study of Negro Education in Kentucky; Past Chairman, Kentucky Council on Human Relations.



Mr. Alvin M. Seals, Lexington

Assistant Sociology Professor, Kentucky State College.

Education: B. A., Philander Smith College; M. A., University of Kentucky; further study at American University, University of Kentucky, and University of Colorado.

Former teacher at Wiley College, Marshall, Texas; and Southern University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana; formerly Director of Neighborhood Centers in Lexington's CALF Program.

Offices: President of Lexington Montessori Society; Supervisory Committee of Lexington public library.



Mr. Frank B. Simpson, Louisville

Assistant Superintendent, General Administration, Jefferson County Schools.

Education: B. S., Kentucky State College; M. S., University of Kentucky; further study at the University of Louisville.

Recipient of Distinguished Alumni Award, Kentucky State College, 1970.

Offices: Vice-President, Kentucky State College, Alumni Association; Vice-President, Jefferson County Administrative Club; Former President of Second District Principals' Association, 1966.

Served as member of Governor's Commission on Higher Education.



Mr. Maurice Strider, Morehead

Assistant Professor of Art Education, Morehead State University.

Education: A. B., Fisk University; M. A., University of Kentucky; University of Cincinnati; Southern University, Baton Rouge.

Former press correspondent and photographer, Louisville Defender, Pittsburgh Courier.

Recipient of Chicago Defender Award for news writing designed to improve race relations.

Offices: Past President, Lexington Teachers Association; Lexington Education Association.

Member of Advisory Council, Kentucky Educational Television.



Dr. Rhea A. Taylor, Lexington

Associate History Professor, University of Kentucky; a faculty member of the History Department at the University of Kentucky for 27 years.

Education: Emory and Henry College, Emory, Virginia; M. A., Ohio State University; Ph. D., University of Chicago.

Former head of History Department at Bethel College, Russellville, Kentucky; Reinhardt College, Waleska, Georgia; West Georgia College, Carrollton, Georgia; Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky.

Offices: Past President of the Blue Grass Executive Club and Lexington's Rotary Club.



Dr. George D. Wilson, Louisville

Professor Emeritus, Kentucky State College.

Education: A. B., Indiana University; M. A., Teachers College, Columbia University; Ph. D., Ohio State University.

Dean, West Kentucky Industrial College, Paducah, 1931-32; Head of Department of Education, Louisville Municipal College (University of Louisville), 1934-51; Head of Department of Education, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, 1951-65.

Board Member, Plymouth Settlement House, Louisville and Church and Business Foundation, Louisville; Member, Commission on Social Action on the Indiana-Kentucky Conference United Church of Christ; NCCJ; Urban League.



Dr. Whitney M. Young, Sr., Louisville

President Emeritus, Lincoln Institute; President, 1936-1966; faculty member, 1918-1935.

Education: B. A., Louisville Municipal College; M. A., Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee; D. Ed., Monrovia College, Liberia.

Served on four Commissions appointed by Governors of Kentucky. Assistant Supervisor for Negro Education in Kentucky (1935-1943). Appointed by President Johnson to serve on Citizens Committee for the Implementation of the Civil Rights Law (August, 1964).

Offices: Treasurer of the Lincoln Foundation; Secretary of Chief Justice Housing Commission; Former President of Kentucky Negro Education Association.

Member of the State Vocational Advisory Committee.



Tava Taylor, (left)

Kentucky State College

Major: History and Political Science

Graduate of Paul Lawrence Dunbar High School, Lexington

Home: 354 Ohio Street, Lexington



Charlotte Dunne, (right)

Eastern Kentucky University

Major: Medical Technology

Graduate of Burgin High School, Burgin

Home: 224 East Mill Street, Burgin 144



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Cover Illustrations

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All other illustrations used on the cover are also included in the text. Sources for text illustrations are listed on the following page.

Illustration Acknowledgements

Illustrations used in Kentucky's Black Heritage on the pages listed below were obtained from the following sources:

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 Atwood, R.B.: page 79
 Baer, Gordon: page 111
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 Berea College: pages 35, 38, 42 (lower left) 62, 63, 70, 77, 80, 102
 Brown William Wells, *Narrative of William W. Brown, A Fugitive Slave*, reprint edition, Negro University Press, 1970: page 25
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 First Baptist Church, Frankfort: page 65
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 Wilson, G. D.: page 12
 Warren, Mark: page 137 (right)
 Washington Street Baptist Church, Paducah:
 Young, Whitney M. Young, Sr.: page 93

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Many comprehensive bibliographies of United States Black History are available. For this reason, only those general works on Black History that contained specific references about Kentucky are listed here.

Since no comprehensive bibliography on Kentucky Black History specifically is available, this bibliographical list has emphasized materials concerning Kentucky. Some of these works are difficult to find; therefore, the following abbreviations listed after such works indicate where they may be located:

UK—University of Kentucky Library
KSCL—Kentucky State College Library at Frankfort
U. of L.—University of Louisville Library
LFPL—Louisville Free Public Library

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1. Newspapers: especially the *Louisville Defender*, the *Courier Journal* and *Louisville Times*, and the *Southern School News* (which was published between 1955 and 1965 to provide information on the progress of school desegregation.)

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Your Kentucky Black History

In addition to this textbook, three other free publications are a part of the Kentucky Black History Project of the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights:

1. A Gallery of Great Black Kentuckians, a series of illustrated 14 x 11 color posters designed to introduce students to black citizens outstanding in Kentucky history. By July 1971, posters had been released on the following persons:

Dr. Thomas Wendell, pioneer in mental health
Mrs. Emma C. Clement, first black American Mother of the Year
Charles W. Anderson, Kentucky's first black legislator
Isaac Murphy, winning jockey in 3 Kentucky Derbies
James Bord, civil rights leader in the 1920's
Colonel Charles D. Young, military hero in U.S. army
Whitney Young, Jr., National Urban League Director (1961-1971)

2. Kentucky Black Elected Officials Directory, an illustrated booklet including facts about the more than 40 black Kentuckians currently serving in elective State, county and city offices.
3. Teachers Manual to accompany *Kentucky's Black Heritage*, available fall, 1971

Students, teachers, and anyone interested in Kentucky black history are invited to send their suggestions, corrections, additions, for *Kentucky's Black Heritage* to the Kentucky Black History Committee. Obviously it has not been possible to obtain and to include information about every aspect of the life of black people in Kentucky in the first edition on this subject. Countless hours have been spent in its preparation, but there are many other facts which are not included.

To be most helpful, your suggestions should be specific.

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